

HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA

JOURNAL OF NEO-LATIN STUDIES

Vol. XXXVIII-1989



LEUVEN UNIVERSITY PRESS

HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA Journal of Neo-Latin Studies

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Beginning with volume 17 (1968) HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA appears annually as a *Journal of Neo-Latin Studies*.

Orders for separate volumes and standing orders should be sent to the publisher: *Leuven University Press*, Krakenstraat 3, B-3000 Leuven (Belgium)

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Manuscripts for publication should be submitted (2 ex.) to a member of the editorial board. They should follow the prescriptions of the *MHRA Style Book*, published by W.S. Maney, Hudson Road, Leeds LS9 7DL, England.

Contributors will receive twenty offprints of their articles free of charge.

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*Gepubliceerd met de steun
van de Universitaire Stichting van België
en van het Ministerie van de Vlaamse Gemeenschap*

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ISBN 90 6186 338 4

D/1989/1869/37

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Mary QUINLAN-McGRATH

AEGIDIUS GALLUS, DE VIRIDARIO AUGUSTINI CHIGII
VERA LIBELLUS.
INTRODUCTION, LATIN TEXT AND ENGLISH
TRANSLATION*.

Introduction

Among the 300 poets of Rome in the early Cinquecento¹, not many distinguished themselves sufficiently to be remembered by name. Aegidius Gallus was one who did. He was not a poet of the first rank, yet his poetry may be more interesting for that reason. This is particularly true in the piece, *De viridario Augustini Chigii ... Vera*², which is the focus of this essay and translation. The task set Gallus was not easy, for in his best antique manner he was to praise the specifics of a Renaissance Roman villa which was still incomplete, as well as eulogize its exacting patron. Resting from his labors nearly 60 pages later, Gallus left us a document which, through its "imperfections", may reveal more to us of Renaissance Italy than the smoother verses of Sannazaro or Bembo³. But before looking at the poem more closely, the little that is known of Aegidius' life may be helpful.

* I am particularly indebted to Edward Bassett (1914-1984) for help with the Latin Translation. A special thanks also to Professor Nancy Helmbold, for her kind assistance.

¹ Ippolito de' Medici supposedly supported 300 poets in his household alone. See F. Gregorovius, *A History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages*, 8 vols., tr. by A. Hamilton (London, 1903-12), 8, pt. 1, p. 304.

² A. Gallus, *De viridario Augustini Chigii, Patricii Senensis Vera libellus* (Rome: S. Guilliretus & H. Nanus, 1511). Three copies of this are located in the Vatican Library, one in the Chigi printed book collection, BAV, Stamp. Chigi III. 59, one among Angelo Colocci's manuscript collection, BAV, Vat. lat. 2847, and a third in BAV, Stamp. Chigi IV. 2211, int. 5A. All three share the same typographical errors. Chigi III. 59 has the best corrections and is also beautifully decorated; Vat. lat. 2847's copy corrects most of the printing errors; Chigi IV. 2211 is nearly uncorrected. A manuscript in the Biblioteca Comunale, Siena, C. II. 27, is a copy of the poem, probably made in the late 17th c. The pages of this copy were collated out of sequence.

³ It is particularly the (to our eyes) eccentricities of the piece which are the most instructive. Nn. 21 and 23 suggest a sample of these.

Gallus' own published works supply most of his biography⁴. In his first printed plays of 1505, the *Bophilaria* and *Annularia*, he calls himself a Roman⁵. From the 1505 introductory letter we learn that Gallus had early given his life to a study of the classical authors, as well as to acting in the revivals of Plautus, Terence and others. These two plays of 1505 are dedicated to Agostino Chigi, the great Sienese banker, industrialist and art patron who resided in Rome and who gave the poet both financial and moral support. It is also clear from this letter that Gallus leans heavily upon Chigi to protect him from his detractors. The plays are romantic comedies in the fashionable manner of Plautus, predicated upon the standard escapades resulting from mistaken identities and double entendres. Both have a risqué undercurrent and would have been amusing entertainments at Roman banquets. They were probably published because they had attained a certain popularity.

In 1509, Gallus published a long poem, *Cytherea*, which he dedicated to an intimate of the papal chamber, by name Erasmino⁶. This piece takes as its theme the distinction between the virtuous and the voluptuous Venus. In the ensuing conflict, virtuous Venus triumphs. In several ways the poem is the direct predecessor for Gallus's 1511 *De viridario* ... In both, Venus, mother of Aeneas and the Roman people, the protectress of procreation, is the central figure. In each work there are lavish descriptions of the followers of Venus, lofty speeches and energetic troop movements. While neither the 1509 nor 1511 piece is a play, each calls to mind theatrical performances or Renaissance intermezzi through the oratorical proclamations, processions, and richly

⁴ Aegidius Gallus' name is remembered by Francesco Arsilli in his long poem, *De poetis urbanis*, printed in the *Coryciana* (Rome: L. degli Arrighi Vicentinus & L. Perugino, 1524), p. LLii; G. Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, 16 vols. (Milan, 1824), 13, p. 1981; G. Marini, *Lettera dell'abate Gaetano Marini* ... (Rome, 1797), pp. 63-65; Gregorovius, *Rome*, op. cit. n. 1 above, 8, pt. 1, p. 130, p. 363, p. 382; and I. Sanesi, *Storia dei generi letterari italiani: La commedia*, 2 vols. (Milan, 1954), 1, p. 172.

⁵ A. Gallus, *Comediae* (Rome: Joannes de Besicken, 1505). These plays can be found in London at the British Museum, in Paris at the Bibliothèque Nationale, and in Bologna at the Biblioteca Universitaria. For a brief discussion of these see W. Creizenach, *Geschichte des Neueren Dramas*, 3 vols. (Halle a.S., 1911-23), 2, pp. 17-19; M. T. Herrick, *Italian Comedy in the Renaissance* (Urbana, Illinois, 1960), p. 24; A. Stäuble, *La commedia umanistica del Quattrocento* (Florence, 1968), pp. 121-125; and F. Doglio, "Il teatro in Latino nel Cinquecento", in *Il teatro classico Italiano nel '500* (Rome, 1971), pp. 166, 178. The copy in the British Museum was consulted for this study.

⁶ A. Gallus, *Cytherea* (Rome: S. Guilliretus, 1509). Monsignore J. Ruyschaert located this rare text for me at the Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, Rome.

visualized meetings of the converging retinues. This theatrical flair doubtless pleased Chigi, who had a theater courtyard built as part of his new palace, and who was an enthusiastic patron of playwrights⁷.

By late 1511 when *De viridario* ... was printed⁸, Gallus used the title Poet Laureate. The book is again dedicated to Chigi, and the poet profusely thanks the patron's personal secretary Cornelius Benignus as well, for both men have shielded him from his literary rivals.

Two years later Gallus published a book of odes dedicated to Mario Peruschi, Leo X's fiscal procurator and legal counsel⁹. The short poems of this publication praise the Pope, Mario and Gregorio Peruschi and others. Here Aegidius used the title Poet Laureate as well as adding Capitoline Poet. Also in 1513, Aegidius published one of the introductory poems to *Clades Ravennas*, along with Blossius Palladius and Baptista Casalius, two other poets associated with Chigi¹⁰. This would seem to indicate that he was a friend of Marcellus Palonius who had written *Clades*. There is a notice from this year that Chigi lent the poet money, which places him in a small group of writers whom Chigi seems to have particularly valued¹¹.

Gallus was probably a teacher at the University of Rome by 1514¹².

⁷ For the architecture of the estate see C. Frommel, *Die Farnesina und Peruzzis architektonisches Frühwerk* (Berlin, 1961), especially pp. 36-37, for the theater court. The Sienese playwrights Il Mescolino and Lo Strascino were favorites of Chigi, see M. McGrath, *The Villa of Agostino Chigi: The Poems and Paintings*, 2 vols. (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1983), 1, pp. 100-104.

⁸ See n. 2 above. The poem was probably written in the Fall of 1511 because Gallus implies in his introductory letter that his inspiration culminated upon Chigi's return after a long absence. Chigi was in Venice apparently from February through August of that year and left Venice for Rome by ship, August 17. Chigi may even have been absent from Rome for the whole year October 1510 to September 1511; see F. Gilbert, *The Pope, His Banker, and Venice* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980), pp. 62, 91, and 143, n. 93.

⁹ A. Gallus, *Odorum liber* (Rome: S. Guilliretus & H. Nanus, 1513), a copy of this book from the University Library, Cambridge, England, was consulted here.

¹⁰ M. Palonius, *Clades Ravennas* (Rome: J. Mazochius, 1513). Palladius and Casalius will be discussed in a forthcoming article in *Hum. Lov.* (1990) on the second major Chigi poem, *Suburbanum Augustini Chisii*, by Blossius Palladius.

¹¹ BAV, Chigi MSS, R.V.e (III.X), fols. 630, 631^v, 638^v, 642, 653. Chigi loans also went to Cornelius Benignus, Pietro Bembo, and Niccolò Campani (Lo Strascino), see McGrath, *Chigi*, op. cit. n. 7 above, 1, p. 63, p. 47, p. 136, and p. 102, respectively, on these literary men.

¹² "Gallus" appears on a roster of professors, see F. Ubaldini, *Vita di Mons. Angelo Colocci*, ed. V. Fannelli (Città del Vaticano, 1969), pp. 114, and 28, n. 33; and Marini, *Lettera*, op. cit. n. 4 above, p. 64. There is a natural problem when the manuscripts concern a poet by the name "Gallus", since there was more than one. Marini's pages are an example of the difficulty.

In 1518 his ties with the Roman literary scene must still have been rather close, for he delivered the funeral oration on the death of Angelo Colocci's wife¹³. Gallus, like more than 100 other Roman poets, also wrote verses for Johannes Goritz's yearly celebration on the feast of St. Ann.¹⁴ It is generally thought that the great Pietro Bembo wrote his epitaph, however it is difficult to know now whether the Gallus of this poem is the same as our man¹⁵. Francesco Arsilli praised both Aegidius' writing and his acting abilities¹⁶.

From the distance of several centuries it would seem that our poet's life was typical of the minor Roman literati of the early Cinquecento. He was caught in a crush of poetasters, each striving to distinguish himself from the crowd, and to attain the patronage which was necessary for his literary survival. The cultural atmosphere in Rome was often nasty and always highly competitive, and Gallus is not alone in letting the world know that he has enemies who are incompetent imbeciles, striving to ruin his literary reputation¹⁷. In fact the repetitiveness of this complaint leads one to suspect that he may not have had the sunniest disposition. His poetry was probably less well received than his plays, which doubtless stung him, while it is possible that his own nature was rather more proud, cranky and suspicious than the average¹⁸. In Renaissance Rome a long literary work was often introduced with short laudatory verses by friends of the main author. It may be significant that Gallus has only two such fans who introduce his work,

¹³ In the handwritten notes by F. Ubaldini on the printed copy of *De viridario* ... in BAV, Stamp. Chigi III.59; V. Fanelli identifies Ubaldini's hand, see Ubaldini, *Colocci*, op. cit. n. 12 above, p. 29, n. 33; and especially Ubaldini's main text, p. 28.

¹⁴ *Coryciana*, op. cit. n. 4 above, fol. Fiv^r (epigrams 49-51 of book I).

¹⁵ Published in *Carmina illustrium poetarum Italorum*, 11 vols., ed. G. Bottari (Florence, 1719-26), 2, p. 140. I suspect this is not our Gallus. From Bembo's correspondence it seems that his close friend was the poet Jacobus Gallus, see P. Bembo, *Epistolarum familiarium, libri VI* (Venice, 1552), vol. 3, nos. 19, 21, 22, 23. Other verses which may concern our Gallus can be found in BAV, Vat. lat. 3352, fol. 9, and Vat. lat. 3353, fol. 190^v.

¹⁶ See n. 4 above: "Galle, tuae passim resonant per compita laudes; / Scaena graves numeros te recitante probat".

¹⁷ He does this consistently in his published pieces. In a certain sense there was good antique precedent for this kind of complaint in the introductions of Terence; however Gallus' vituperations seem deeply felt, and surely go beyond simple cliché. Literary insults from one poet to another are fairly common in manuscripts which collect the verses of early Cinquecento authors.

¹⁸ It is both his word choice (for example in the introductory letter to Chigi of *De viridario* ..., "those with the beak of a Rhinoceros"), as well as the repetitiousness of his complaints from one published work to the next, which lead to this speculation.

Antonius Septempedanus and Petrus Paulus Thebaldius. These all but forgotten versifiers sing his praises, castigate his enemies, and probably strutted close behind him as Aegidius paced the garden walks of Rome.

De viridario ..., written in five books of dactylic hexameter, praises the new villa of Agostino Chigi, its patron, and the several noble purposes of the estate. At its simplest plot level, Venus comes down from Olympus to admire the Chigi estate and bless it with eternal Spring. Along the way her path is slowed by impassioned speeches, the enactment of ancient cults, descriptions of astrological phenomena, and lengthy catalogues of deities and ruins. The poet also embroiders the text with allusions to numerous classical authors, among the most obvious being Vergil, Ovid, Statius and Lucretius¹⁹. In addition there are learned passages which depend on contemporary scholars such as Pomponius Laetus, the recently deceased head of the Roman Academy²⁰. Aegidius also adorns his lines with the classical figures of

¹⁹ His references to Venus, mother of the Roman people; to Juno's anger at the Trojan boy and the winds consequently doing her bidding; and to Julius remind the reader of a lineage which goes back to Vergil's *Aeneid*. But his Venus is also a Lucretian Creatrix, for Lucretius opens his *De rerum natura* (I 1-43) with the solicitation to Venus to leave warring Mars and come to Earth bringing peace, and the renewed creation of the year in Spring; precisely the theme taken up by Aegidius. In our poet's fourth book, Venus addresses the sea from which she has drawn all her powers, IV 45-63, and the topic of atoms is glossed (cf. Lucretius, *De rerum natura* II 114-122, on the motes dancing about in sunlight, and Gallus, IV 37-39, on the same). One can also see the clear adaptations of Ovid's *Fasti* IV 85-132, for the opening of the year in April (cf. Aegidius's I 89-134, 215-261). Ovid presents a concise version of the Roman women bathing and bedecking anew the cult statue of Venus. Here also Ovid notes the custom of women bathing as part of the rite to Fortuna Virilis (*Fasti* IV 133-162). Aegidius has carefully recorded these practices as part of his petition by the Roman women of Chigi's day to Venus to come and open the year for Rome, and to bless the Chigi estates (I 12-198). *Fasti* IV 713-720 is probably also behind some of Aegidius' astrological message in his opening of the third book (see n. 23 below). Ovid's "Fama" of *Metamorphoses* XII 39 ff. (based on the fiercer "Fama" of Vergil, *Aeneid* IV 173-197) is echoed by Gallus' "Fama" who opens Book Four. Statius, who was a favorite poet of the Chigi circle, may also have contributed a portion of the plot. It is in his "Epithalamium in Honor of Stella and Violentilla" that we find Venus calling her doves, and seated in her chariot, she is drawn down from heaven to admire a lofty mansion on the Tiber, worthy to be her home (as also in the 1511 poem). Gallus' watchman "Sleep" of Book Two is slightly reminiscent of Statius' cave of Sleep in *Thebaid* X 84 ff. Finally, the portrait of Chigi relaxing in his Villa after a heavy working day (V 28 sqq, especially 37-39) recalls a similar description of a Roman senator in book VII of Ennius' *Annals* (preserved by Aulus Gellius XII 4.1).

²⁰ The posthumously published P. Laetus, *De antiquitatibus urbis Romae libellus* (Rome, 1515), provides a good guide to Aegidius' sometimes obscure descriptions of the ruins which Venus surveys upon her arrival over Rome. Compare for example Gallus, IV 349-353 and Laetus, under the heading "XIII. Columnae Domitiani in signum sui triumphii". Gallus' poem also shares many clichés with other villa poems of his era, cf.

rhetoric. Alliteration, hyperbole, oxymoron, assonance, and allegorical figures are all among those flourishes which embellish his verses.

It is, however, Gallus' over-achievements in erudition which are most striking today. These ripple and occasionally bulge through the sonorous lines²¹. Antiquarianism triumphs over clear simplicity, and it is often difficult to comprehend what Gallus is telling us about Chigi and his estate in the course of Venus' transit. The effort to understand is particularly encouraged, however, by the length and specificity of the digressions, and to a lesser extent by what may be a *double entendre* in the title. *Vera* may mean either "The Spring Song" or "The True Account"²². Upon close study one realizes that Aegidius, often when he appears most obscure, has nevertheless given us a great deal of information on his subject²³. Either this detailed inclusion of information was requested by the patron, or the poet knew that it would be pleasing to him, for the same love of precise and often hidden erudition

the poem on the Villa Falconis published in the *Coryciana* (op. cit. n. 4 above), ff. HHiii - HHiiii: Hieronymi Vidae Carmen, *Genius Falconis Villae*.

²¹ Where Ovid neatly details the April cult to Venus and Fortuna Virilis, Aegidius draws out the descriptions tenfold. His second cult to the bearded Venus on Cyprus (Book 4) is egregious not so much in length as in its ostentatious inclusion. Similarly showy are the strange narration of the story of Peristera (Book 2), the astrological occurrences (Book 3), the rather long insertions on Procne, Arion, and the dolphin who is thirty years old (Book 3), and the detailed topographical surveys of the ancient Roman ruins (Books 4 and 5). These are perhaps not seamlessly sewn into the simple plot of Venus's descent.

²² "Vera" appears on the title page, and as "Verae" at the beginning of Book One. Thebaldus picks this up as "Vera libellus" in his second introductory verse, and Septempedanus notes that the "Vera libellus" hides seriousness under its pleasantries. This is consistent with B. Palladius, *Suburbanum Augustini Chisii* (Rome: J. Mazochius, 1512), ll. 61-62, who bids the reader pay heed to what lies hidden under the work, although Blossius is at least ostensibly pointing out that there are hidden meanings in the frescoes.

²³ It seems that the stranger the interruption, the more likely it is that Gallus is trying to tell us something specifically true about the villa or its inhabitants. See for examples M. Quinlan-McGrath, "A Proposal for the Foundation Date of the Villa Farnesina", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 49 (1986), 245-250; and idem, "The Astrological Vault of the Villa Farnesina: Agostino Chigi's Rising Sign", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 47 (1984), 98, n. 39, 104-105 and n. 86.

See McGrath, *Chigi*, op. cit. n. 7 above, for suggestions on the cults to Venus (pp. 17-25), on Peristera (pp. 186-187), on a certain "Julia" (pp. 52-62), on the description of Neptune's palace (pp. 210-211), on the importance to Chigi of the antique siting of his villa (pp. 201-205), on the description of the gardens (pp. 205-209), on the relevance of Epicurean references (pp. 179-185), on the purposes of the villa (pp. 9-10, 40, 163-179), and on general similarities between Aegidius' descriptions and the actual architecture and frescoes (pp. 193-204, 319-327).

turns up in the fresco decoration of the palace, as well as in Blossius' and Aegidius' praises²⁴. Therefore, while the overall unity and proportion of our poet's long composition is periodically threatened by his detours and prolix emphases, any censure should probably be shared by Chigi. It may also be true that these very "flaws" contribute as much as Aegidius' choice of words to the unique speaking ability of this poem. His prodigality with words and his informative digressions have an arcane savour which remind us that our perceptions and appreciation are slightly different from those of this period. They can be seen as part of a precious instruction that these people did not think exactly as we do, and that they cherished values somewhat like, and somewhat unlike, our own.

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Editor's and translator's note

The original punctuation uses four marks:

- a slanting stroke (/), similar in meaning to a modern comma (,);
- a colon (:), which is a longer pause;
- a full stop (.), and
- an interrogation mark (?).

The slanting stroke also serves two other purposes: it precedes and follows immediately the one letter words *a*, *e* and *o* to mark them off from the surrounding words; and it indicates syllable division at the end of a line in the marginal notes and in the prose letters.

Except in cases where a typographical error is probable and which will be reported in the apparatus, the original punctuation has been retained in my edition of the Latin text. However, the stroke has been consistently printed as a comma in the text and as (-) at the end of a syllable. It has been omitted before and after *a*, *e* and *o*.

In the translation the punctuation has been modernized to a degree, but it follows the original as closely as possible. The colon is usually given a comma or a semicolon (;), although at least once it remains a colon.

²⁴ See especially Quinlan-McGrath, "Astrological Vault", *op. cit.* n. 23 above, and McGrath, *Chigi*, *op. cit.* n. 7 above, pp. 336-367, 375-409, 415-432, and 439-511, for the complex subject matter of the frescoes.

The 1511 capitalization is — to modern eyes — eccentric, but it appears not to be random. The capitalized words (for ex. *Air*, *Sky*, *Stars* some forty times, *Water* some twenty times, etc.) are in almost all instances intentionally emphasized. Therefore, I decided to leave the Latin capitalization as it was in the original edition. In the English translation it was also retained where it seemed probable that it was used for emphasis.

Finally, I also kept the original inconsistent spelling, except in two cases:

- *ę* has been expanded everywhere into *ae*;
- all abbreviations and suspensions (e.g. the horizontal stroke for *m* and *n*) have been silently expanded.

The rare but obvious misprints have been corrected and the erroneous reading reported in the apparatus.

In the apparatus criticus a capital R indicates the original 1511 Roman edition. Handwritten changes (corrections, additions of punctuation marks) in the Vatican copies Chigi III 59 and Vat.lat. 2847 are marked Rc and Rv.

For technical reasons the original word division in the *marginalia* could not always be maintained. Hyphens and periods, which are often lacking in the *marginalia*, have been freely added.

ON THE ESTATE OF AGOSTINO CHIGI
PATRICIAN OF SIENA
THE SPRING SONG/THE TRUE ACCOUNT
THE LITTLE BOOK OF GALLUS EGIDIUS,
ROMAN POET LAUREATE

1
GALLUS TO HIS BOOK

Go, seek Cornelius, you should save effort and trouble; he has favor with your Maecenas. To Cornelius is given our one trust; who is more learned than he? Maecenas will become as Cornelius is [now] to you.

2
GALLUS TO A RIVAL

You will be annoyed, nor does it escape me, jealous one, if some page of my work should come to well disposed men; poet, you will be annoyed if by chance our reputation and singular honor will be able to
5 pass through your ears. / But why do I consider this? If for some reason, jealous one, the Muse desires that I and my days be able to be preserved? But why do I consider this? Happy fellow, while you are looking forward to leisures for your genius, should I be troubled by the waters of the night? But why do I consider this? Tear me to pieces,
10 pluck at me with Mockery. / I shall write things which you may tear apart, but which are destined to please good men.

3
PETRUS PAULUS THEBALDIUS

What time the watchful hounds were silent, and the Gallic band had captured the walls built under the auspice of the gods, [these] would

DE VIRIDARIO AUGUSTINI CHIGII
PATRITII SENENSIS
VERA
LIBELLUS GALLI EGIDII ROMANI
POETAE LAUREATI
+

1
GALLUS AD LIBRUM:

I: pete Cornelium: serves operamque, oleumque:
Ad Moecenatem ius habet ille tuum.
Cornelio datur una fides: quis doctior illo?
Fiet Moecenas ut tibi Cornelius.

2
GALLUS AD INVIDUM

Laesus eris: nec me latet invidere: si qua laboris
Charta mei faciles sit subitura viros
Laesus eris, nostrum si forte, poeta, per aures
Ire tuas poterit nomen et unus honor.
5 Sed quid ego hoc? aliqua si me ratione, meosque
Invidere, Musa cupit sistere posse dies?
Sed quid ego hoc? genio dum prospicis ocia foelix:
Nocturnis ego sim sollicitatus aquis?
Sed quid ego hoc? Tu me lacera: Tu carpe Cachynno:
10 Scribam ego quae laceres, sed placitura bonis.

3
PETRUS PAULUS THEBALDIUS.

Quom vigilantes tacere canes, et gallica turba
Cooperant auspicio moenia facta deum

2.8 Nocturnit R Nocturnis Rc-v; sollicitatus R; *correxerit* Rc.

have been destroyed by the flames of the Gauls tossed upon them, had
 5 not the bird made its noise at the right time; / and no names would
 have survived from such great affairs, since all of the glory of the race
 of Romulus would have been covered over. Thus had the poems of the
 Latin tongue been about to perish, except that song flowed from the
 mouth of sweet Gallus.

4

THE SAME POET

In the winter the rains come, heat waves come in the summer; this one
 is bad for many because of its rains, that one because of its heat;
 autumn, either fruit bearing or stained with the pressed grape, compels
 5 many to go to the stygian skiffs. / The spring gleaming with violets, the
 spring gleaming with the flower, is kind to mortal men. For it lacks the
 rain, the fruits, the stain and the heat. As the spring is better than the
 rest of the year, so is the book "The Spring / The Truth", better than
 all others with respect to its art, its pleasantries and the polished song
 of its theme.

5

 ANTONIUS SEPTEMPEDANUS
 (ANTHONY OF SAN SEVERINO MARCHE)

As in early spring varied flowers rise up from the turf, as in the early
 spring the earth grows green from the flourishing seed, thus does the
 "The Spring / The Truth", the little book of Gallus now pour forth its
 varied pleasantries with art, but with seriousness intermingled at the
 5 same time. / If you wish to know eloquence, talent, the gifts of the true
 poet, you will be taught by this polished song. It is greater than
 jealousy, indeed, it is praised in the whole city, nay in the whole world;
 consuming envy, spare your biting insults.

6

GALLUS TO HIS BOOK

Book, if by now you are determined to proffer the efforts of your Poet,

- Essent coniectis gallorum perdita flammis
 Si tempestive non strepuisset avis:
 5 Nullaque de tantis restassent nomina rebus:
 Romulidumque omnis gloria tecta foret.
 Sic fuerant latiae peritura poemata linguae
 Ni flueret Galli dulcis ab ore melos.

4

IDEM

- Bruma imbres veniunt, veniunt aestate calores:
 Imbribus haec multis, illa calore mala est:
 Pomifer autumnus, vel pressis sordidus uvis
 Ad stygias multos impulit ire rates.
 5 Ver violis, ver flore nitens mortalibus alnum est.
 Namque imbre, et pomis, sorde, calore caret
 Ver anno ut melius, cunctis sic Vera libellus
 Arte, iocis, culto carmine, materiae.

5

ANTONIUS SEPTEMPEDANUS

- Vere novo ut varii surgunt de gramine flores
 Vere novo ut viridi germine terra viret
 Sic varios galli fundit modo, vera, libellus
 Arte iocos: mixta sed gravitate simul.
 5 Eloquium, ingenium, si veri munera vatis
 Nosse cupis culto hoc carmine doctus eris.
 Invidia est maior, tota hic nam dicitur urbe
 Orbe etiam, morsus comprime livor edax.

6

GALLUS AD LIBRUM.

Si certum est tibi iam tui Poetae

5.7 maior R maior, Rc; 5.8 etiam R etiam, Rc.

remember this: here you will suffer the good words of good men, but
 5 there you will suffer the insults and the mockery of rivals. / But repay
 to each his own due; to good men speak your salutations for their good
 words, and promise once more a new poem. But contend in laughter
 with your rivals in turn. But you will rise up the greater, I think, in the
 mockery.

7

TO AGOSTINO CHIGI, PATRICIAN OF SIENA,
 GALLUS EGIDIUS SENDS MANY SALUTATIONS

Greetings, my Agostino, most honorable Man. That you are well, is the
 one salvation of all men of letters; that you have returned to Rome,
 and returned gladly, has engendered among all of us a certain unbel-
 lievable pleasure. It seemed to me in that very place where I saw you
 (when you were hurrying to the temple of Santa Maria del Popolo, as
 you are frequently accustomed) that my happy day had returned. It
 seemed that my inspiration, heavy with the richness of things and filled
 with favor, was present to me. To you I have dedicated now for a long
 time my wakeful hours, to you my service, to you finally my life, not
 only because of your wisdom in all things, but also, and what is of
 greater worth, because of your great humanity to all men of letters, nor
 did I ever regret it afterwards. By Hercules, I bore your absence with
 excessive irritation; not because of your absence, for being absent, you
 made the expectation and yearning for you much greater among all of
 us, but because it was in no way permitted to me to obtain the pleasure
 of your most delightful companionship. Please do not think that I have
 been quite unmindful of my office and my service, when your most
 devoted friends, with their finest talent, were embellishing your estate
 everywhere with golden ornamentations, with the choicest pictures,
 most delightful flowers, and the sweetest fruits, for the pleasurable and
 honorable recreation of your spirit; the Muses, whom you have con-
 stantly cherished for us, who were a little alienated from your laborious
 tasks while you were away, quickly gathered at that place with eager
 spirit; and having tasted of that delight (which is richest at your estate),
 they nevertheless sang this brief Poem dedicated to you. My Agostino,
 in keeping with your innate sense of what is right, please accept with
 unwrinkled brow the songs written here of my Muses, who are yours.

Labores Liber aedere, hoc memento:
 Bonorum hinc bona verba, et inde morsus
 Et risus patieris invidorum.

- 5 Sed tu cuique suas vices repone:
 Bonis ob bona verba dic salutem
 Et promitte iterum novum poema.
 At risu tu age cum invidis vicissim.
 Sed surges, puto, maior in cachynno.

7

GALLUS EGIDIUS AUGUSTINO CHIGIO
 PATRITIO SENENSI S.P.D.

- Salve mi Augustine Vir integerrime. Te salvum esse, ea est litterato-
 rum omnium una salus Te reversum esse Romam, atque ex animo,
 iniecta est inter omnes incredibilis quaedam voluptas. Visum est mihi
 illico ubi te conspexi (quom ad aedem Beatae Mariae de populo, ut
 5 frequenter soles, te conferebas) meum rediisse genialem diem. Meum
 mihi adesse genium rerum opulentia onustum, ac favore plenum. Cui
 meas vigiliis, Cui meam servitutem, Cui denique meam vitam tum ob
 tuam in rebus omnibus sagacitatem tum etiam, que maioris est precii,
 ob tuam erga litteratos immensam humanitatem, iam diu dedicavi,
 10 neque unquam post, dedicasse me paenituit. Absentiam tuam me hercle
 tuli, nimium moleste: non quod abfueris, tuam enim absens expectatio-
 nem, tuique desiderium fecisti apud omnes multo cumulatus: sed quod
 tuae iocundissimae consuetudinis fructu potiri nequaquam mihi fuerit
 permissum. Verum ne me penitus mei officii, meaeque servitutis imme-
 15 morem fuisse existimes quom tui diligentissimi familiares summo cum
 ingenio viridarium tuum pro tua voluptuosa atque honesta animi
 recreatione aureis ornamentis, picturis elegantissimis, suavissimis flori-
 bus, pomis dulcissimis, undique exornarent: Musae quas tu nobis
 fovisti sedulo, a tuis laboriosis negociis te absente paululum alienate
 20 illuc alacri animo velociter concurrerunt: Atque illa (quae in viridario
 tuo uberrima est) suavitate depastae, breve hoc, tamen tibi dedicatum
 Poema cecinerunt. Tu pro tua tibi innata pietate, exporrecta fronte

And come, when you will have the leisure, together with your Cornelius, a man most richly educated in Greek and Latin letters, scan this little book, which my trembling hands now offer, now take back, not because they present a coin to an elephant, for they do not at all fear your generosity and his; rather it is because they dread the rashness of those who with the beak of a Rhinoceros are a source of irritation to each and every person; the boldness of these, my Agostino, you will check with your authority, you who despise idle men, and favor the productive. By this it will come about that, relying for the future on a better spirit, I will make myself completely ready with full heart and full throat for your actions, for your most illustrious virtues, together with this our verdant Laurel, which we wear for you. Farewell.

I

THE SPRING SONG /

THE TRUE [THINGS] ON THE ESTATE OF AGOSTINO CHIGI
PATRICIAN OF SIENA BY GALLUS EGIDIUS ROMAN POET
LAUREATE BOOK ONE

When the minds of men are borne on high through various concerns, or to preserve the tranquility of their Fatherland, stir up their spirits; rightly they hope to compose their wearied feelings in the early spring; 5 they approach the sun, or the cool places beneath the shadows. / Therefore let me here relate how much spring the Estates have, what they promise of the Sunny season, and what comforts there are, here where the Chigian Hero builds them. You, however, bountiful Venus, who alone open up the calm days in rosy spring, also unfold the 10 inspiration of your Poet, / so that your seasons be Celebrated with sure Song, in what places, or in what region you keep them.

He (= Mars), Powerful in war, who had given the sacred origins to the Roman race, had by now fulfilled his own time, being the First in 15 the Romulean Year; by now it was fitting that the Bull put forth / his horns and bring forth the wreathes in the hoped for spring, and the fragrant Garlands with blooming flower. Behold, the Dawn, gleaming beneath the shadowy Axis, has endeavored to open up the day, and

conscriptas hic mearum musarum, quae tue, sunt cantiones suscipe mi
 Augustine. Atque age, quando ocium dabitur Cum tuo Cornelio viro
 25 grecis ac Romanis litteris optime ornato cognosce hunc libellum. Quem
 mee modo manus offerunt nato trepidantes modo retrahunt: non quod
 stipem elephanto porrigant, tuam enim atque illius benignitatem
 minime verentur: Verum illorum temeritatem formidant, qui cum naso
 Rhinocerontis cuicunque sunt molesti: quorum audaciam tu mi Augus-
 30 tine qui ociosos homines despicias, foves negociosos, tuo arbitrio coher-
 cebis. Quo fiet ut in posterum maiori fretus animo ad tuas actiones, ad
 tuas clarissimas virtutes cum viridi hac nostra Laurea, quam pro te
 gestamus, pleno pectore plenis faucibus cumulatissime accingar. Vale.

I

GALLI EGIDII ROMANI POETAE LAUREATI
 VIRIDARII AUGUSTINI CHIGII PATRICII SENENSIS
 VERAE LIBER PRIMUS

Dum variis hominum mens fertur in ardua curis:
 Sollicitatve animos Patriae servare quietem:
 Iure fatigatos optant componere sensus
 Vere novo: subeunt solem: vel opaca sub umbris.
 5 Quantum habeant veris: Quid polliceantur Aprici
 Temporis, hic igitur referam: et solatia quae sint
 Hic ubi molitur Viridaria Chigius Heros.
 Tu tamen alma Venus, roseo quae In vere serenos
 Sola dies pandis: Vati quoque pande furorem:
 10 Ut tua securo Celebrentur tempora Cantu:
 In quibus illa locis, Quave in regione reserves.
 ¶ Qui sacra Romane dederat primordia genti
 Iam sua Romuleo Primus compleverat Anno
 Tempora Bellipotens: extendere iam sua Taurum
 15 Cornua: et optato producere vere decebat
 Serta: et odoriferas viridanti flore Corollas.
 Ecce tenebroso fulgens Aurora sub Axe
 Enixa est aperire diem: Iamque undique Coelo

now everywhere, the Lightbearer, amidst so many most peaceful Con-
 20 stellations, / in the open Sky was coming, most welcome to us, the
 precursor with the rays of Apollo; and Titan strives to send down the
 dear suns (which before this time, the Cloudy weather, and the Shadows
 of the Sky, and the storm hoary with the wintry heaven above closed
 25 off) and to free the earth bound with ice. / Then among the others, to
 whom at one time that illustrious and revered Mother of Quirinus gave
 the origin and the name, she alone richer in the modest art of speaking,
 and eminent among the matrons by riches and family, she thus began
 30 speaking to her companions. There had come to her / a band of
 matrons adorned with wondrous gems in order to restore the sacred
 rites to Venus according to Roman custom.

That one, therefore, spoke as follows. "Sisters, why does it please
 you to tarry, or to hinder the fires and the incense customary to Venus,
 35 to encircle the beloved goddess with gems, / to strip her statue once
 more, to bathe her with snowy liquids, to adorn her once more with
 bacchic purple and gold? The venerable Venus deserved this. Mars has
 seen his gifts within his own month. Because (as they say) he gave
 foundations to the sons of Quirinus, and stood forth as the father for
 40 our city; / through this intercourse thus Ilia gives witness at the waters.
 The first honor, and the incense therefore, is extended to Mars under
 our year. But that father should not be worshipped more than Venus,
 our mother and Author of the Roman name. That divinity brought the
 45 goddess Vesta (whom we reverence in a pure, and holy manner) / from
 Troy into Latium, and into the Roman Walls, and led her only son
 through the open ways and through the dangers of the wintry sea, safe
 by virtue of her fixed will, finally to the sought after shores. Hence our
 50 origin, hence the Martian race bears his name; / thereupon Mars loves
 Rhea. He enjoys the beloved and marked her with a twin and sacred
 burden. And also did Rhea become the mother of our Ancestors. Either
 the primordial accounts of Latium and of Roman affairs, told to our
 55 parents at one time, deceive us, / or else this month is rightly given, or

- Fosphorus inter tot placidissima Sydera nobis
 20 Gratus, Apollineis radiis veniebat aperto
 Praevius: et caros Titan dimittere soles
 (Quos ante hac Nimbosa dies: Coelique Tenebrae:
 Canaque brumali tempestas aethere clausit)
 Nititur: et glacie restrictam solvere terram
 25 Tunc inter reliquas: olim quibus inclita nomen
 Principiumque dedit Materque verenda Quirini:
 Una verecunda facundior arte loquendi:
 Et matronarum rebus seu sanguine pollens
 Ad socias sic orsa fuit: convenerat olli
 30 Matronarum acies miris ornata lapillis
 Ut sacra Romano Veneri de more reponant.
 ¶ Illa igitur sic fata: Quid expectare sorores
 Quidve iuvat solitos Veneri remorari ignes?
 Thuraque: adorataque deam praecingere gemmis?
 35 Expoliare iterum: niveoque lavare liquore?
 Atque ornare iterum bacchanti murice et auro?
 Hoc meruit veneranda Venus. sua munera Mavors
 Mense suo vidit. quod fundamenta Quirinis
 (Ut referunt) dedit: et nostrae pater extitit urbi:
 40 Ilia compressu sic testificatur ad undas.
 Primus honos igitur Marti, nostroque sub anno
 Thura patent. Sed non genitor magis ille colatur
 Quam genitrix Venus: et Romani nominis Auctrix.
 Illa deam (quam nos pure, sancteque veremur)
 45 A Troia in latium, Romanaque Moenia Vestam
 Diva tulit: gnatumque unum per aperta viarum
 Et maris hyberni. Certo discrimina tutum
 Numine quesitas tandem conduxit in oras.
 Inde genus: gens inde suum fert martia nomen:
 50 Inde Rheam gradivus amat: gradivus amata
 Et fruitur: geminoque et sancto pondere pressit.
 Nostrorumque etiam facta est Rhea mater Avorum.
 Aut nos frustrantur recitata parentibus olim
 Et latii et Romanarum primordia rerum:
 55 Aut merito datur hic mensis: seu mensis honores

the honors of this month, to Venus, the mother of Rome; or add this, mothers: whether the Goddess has been given to her favorites, or charm of form has been given, why do we not, therefore, in a confederate band, hasten to celebrate this month, sacred to Venus and
 60 the early spring, with a new honor? / Behold, in the early spring there stands revealed loveliness of every kind, delights of every kind; sweet perfumes are scattered by violets and purple roses; all the rest show forth their buds; do you see how the grace of beauty has been added to each thing?" Scarcely does she say these things. All rise up, happily they
 65 accept the omen; / at the same time they were chanting with a sudden cry, "Venus, give a happy omen, give a propitious omen to the matrons, and grant a happier omen to Roman affairs, may they gleam forth for all time, as the radiant year is opened".

70 Immediately, each, having returned to her own house, / hastens to bring bands with varied richness to Venus; now some quickly prepare pure silver vessels to bathe the sacred Goddess; now one, then another, pluck and weave garlands of green myrtle. Within the one time eleventh
 75 region of Rome / (if any belief of our parents is true) which was able to extend itself eleven times over with a measure of a thousand paces, there was among the rest the Circus Maximus, in that place the temples beneath the golden wall were gleaming for Venus, always lighted with
 80 shining hearths and always kept warm with Sabeian incense; / therefore then the matrons were approaching the temple of the one powerful in beauty with eager visage, and they were bearing the decreed votive offerings. They approach in a suppliant manner, and they work to sprinkle with sacred dew their temples covered beneath a snow white
 85 veil, and they, bowed with humble neck, salute Venus; / they warm the Altar, its hearths crackling with Myrtle.

Meanwhile the priestess of the goddess and the temple comes forth. She received the mothers, and is received by the mothers with a pleasing countenance, and having been led down into the middle of such a great gathering of elders she began to speak from her mouth.
 90 "Sisters, the task / we now undertake is difficult, but if there is anyone ignorant of so great an office, listen. And fix these things in your hearts. We intend to prepare the sacred rites for Venus; this season

- Romiparae Veneri: sive hoc adiungite matres:
 Si Dea deliciis: sive est data gratia formae.
 Quid ni ergo hunc Veneri sacrum socio agmine mensem
 Verque novum celebrare novo properamus honore?
- 60 Vere novo ecce patet quaevis elegantia: quaevis
 Daeliciae: suaves violis sparguntur odores: '
 Purpureisque rosis: ostentant caetera gemmas:
 Cernitis ut cuicumque sit addita gratia formae?
 Vix ait haec. surgunt omnes: foeliciter omen
- 65 Excipiunt: subitoque simul clamore caneabant:
 Da foelix: faustumque Venus: da matribus omen:
 Et da Romanis rebus foelicius omen
 Perpetuo niteant: Candens aperitur ut annus.
 ¶ Extemplo proprios quaecumque reversa penates
- 70 Accelerat vario Veneri redimicula luxu
 Ferre: aliae celeres modo vasa argentea sacram
 Pura parant lotura Deam: nunc una virenti:
 Altera nunc myrto carpunt nectuntque coronas.
 Undecima Romae quondam regione (parentum
- 75 Si qua fides vera est) que sese extendere passu
 Undecies potuit milleno: Maximus inter
 Caetera Circus erat: Venerique micantibus illic
 Semper adusta focus: semper calefacta Sabaeo
 Thure sub aurato fulgebant pariete templa:
- 80 Ergo alacri templum tunc formipotentis adibant
 Matronae vultu: decretaque vota ferebant.
 Suppliciter subeunt: sanctoque aspergere rore
 Tempora sub niveo velamine tecta laborant:
 Atque humili flexe venerem cervice salutant:
- 85 Calfaciuntque focus Myrto crepitantibus Aram.
 ¶ Interea egreditur divae templique sacerdos.
 Accepit matres: vultuque accepta lubenti est
 Matribus: et tanti in medium deducta senatus
 Occipit ore loqui. Res est operosa sorores
- 90 Quam nunc aggredimur: sed si qua est nescia tanti
 Muneris, audite. atque animis haec figite vestris.
 Sacra parature veneri sumus: hoc sua tempus
- Matronae
 Romanae ad
 templum
 veneris.
- Circus
 maximus.
- Oratio
 sacerdotis
 Veneris.

demands its own sacred rites. Say: "Let it be propitious and happy",
All at one time said, "Let it be happy and propitious". That one
95 suddenly says, / "Roman women, these rites which you now observe
are of no small consequence, but contain the given weight of affairs.
The fields have their crops, or if the meadows about to bring forth
various colors, gleam with the redolent grasses, if the planted fields
100 grow rich with the snow driven off, and the ice melted, / and the ears of
Grain are hoped for from the rich earth, and if either these new times
return the leaves to the trees which the winds tore away with the wintry
blast, or if there is color here, and happy days, if this season rises up in
105 the year, bountiful Venus makes the leaves / rejoice upon their trees,
and the earth with her planted fields rejoice, Venus has added to the
year its life, the lovely days, and beautiful color; therefore say with me,
'Fruitful Venus, you who open the happy year, grant that this year
proceed happy'. They spoke it all together. Then the great Priestess
110 follows. / "If they now hope to spread their sails to the tender breezes,
and do not fear to cleave the waters of the sea with their ships,
fostering Venus does this; the motherly one does this, namely that the
straits yield their calm waters to sailors wandering the earth. Add,
115 ladies, if perchance the bull be used to dash, / with protruding horns
against a savage bull on account of a snow white heifer; or if a wild
Ram follow the mate of another Ram in fierce battle; or add something
better, Mothers, if this race, if even we, or the other crowd of beings of
120 the earth, if the race of Romulus are wont to rejoice / in the future of
their descendants; or add something greater, Mothers, if ever Quirinus
having been seen is brought to the gods in their Olympian citadel, if the
lofty citadel of the Thunderer has seen any demigods; or speak some-
thing greater, if our hall receives some Gods whose shrines we rever-
125 ence; / this Venus and the well cherished offspring of Venus have
brought to pass. If, however, it is pleasing to know this, we shall speak
openly. Granted that Mars is the father of the empire and the senate.
That one, however, is fierce, that one is cruel and with bloody arms he

- Sacra petit. Quod faustum et foelix, dicite. Foelix
 Dixere una omnes, faustumque sit. Illa repente:
 95 Non sunt haec parvi quae vos modo iura momenti
 Romanae colitis: sed habent data pondera rerum.
 Arva suas segetes: vel si redolentibus herbis
 Prata reflorescunt varios latura colores:
 Si sata depulsis nivibus, glacieque soluta
 100 Luxuriant: pinguique solo sperantur Aristae:
 Et quas eripuerunt hyemali flamine venti
 Arboribus reddunt haec si nova tempora frondes:
 Si color hic: laetique dies: si surgit in anno
 Haec aetas: Venus arboribus frondesque: satisque
 105 Alma facit gaudere solum: Venus addidit anno
 Aetatem: pulchrosque dies: pulchrumque colorem:
 Dicite mecum igitur: quae faelicem incipis annum
 Da faecunda Venus, foelix procedat ut annus.
 Dixere una omnes. Sequitur tunc magna Sacerdos.
 110 Linthea nunc placidis sperant si tendere ventis
 Nec vada formidant ratibus prorumpere ponti:
 Hoc Venus alma facit: facit hoc materna quietas
 Ut freta dent nautis orbem lustrantibus undas.
 Addite: pro nivea soleat si forte iuvenca
 115 Taurus in atrocem extensis concurrere taurum
 Cornibus: alteriusve fero ferus Arietis Aries
 Marte sequatur ovem: melius sive addite Matres:
 Si genus hoc: si nos etiam: seu cetera mundi
 Turba hominum: si Romulidae gaudere nepotum
 120 Posteritate solent: vel Matres addite maius:
 Si quando ad superos defertur in arce Quirinus
 Visus olympiaca: si quos excelsa Tonantis
 Vidit semideos: vel maius dicite: si quos
 Aula Deos recipit quorum delubra veremur:
 125 Hoc Venus et Veneris proles bene culta crearunt.
 Si tamen hoc novisse libet dicemus aperte.
 Sit licet imperii Mavors pater atque senatus.
 Ille ferox tamen est, ille est crudelis et armis
 Sanguineis inter turmas aciesque vagatur.

130 wanders among troops of men and lines of battle. / Nourishing Venus
softens his savagery, and wild fury. Therefore, it is for this reason that
Venus has always followed Mars. And so since the cause of so sacred a
Day has been revealed to you, rise up with me all of you together; first
135 Venus must be undressed, and she must be bathed with pure water". /

Straightway the mothers rise; some care for the vessels, intending to
bathe Venus; one group takes down the garlands and the dry myrtle
leaves put on under the previous year; others remove the adornments
from her neck; the nude Goddess stood revealed with her gleaming
140 body, as no / Athena or Juno was when she was about to endure the
judgment of the Phrygian prince, nor was shining Phoebe; the altar
gleams with its incense-burning hearths, and the altars having been lit,
smoke with incense under the vaulted roof. To her the white haired old
145 Lady, and ever to be revered Priestess, / began on bended knee; they
were silent; the happy crowds raised both their hands toward the
heavens: "If you, chaste Venus, are happy, washed in a pure and sacred
manner, and if we wash you purely and chastely, Goddess, then under
150 thy guidance may the propitious year purify the Romans". / Then all of
them, "May the propitious year purify the Romans". After that Venus
was bathed and sprinkled with fresh incense; now some present baskets
gleaming with flowers, and with deep red roses and violets, and
whatever blooming Narcissus, or Hyacinth, the meadows had brought
155 forth; / now others bring forth snowy fillets, and coverings resplendent
with gold, and they add also adornments rich in Purple, and deep red
vestments, all of which the pure and girdled priestess received with
blameless hands. And she adorned the head of Venus with the garland
160 and began to speak as follows, / "If you, divine Venus, are being
crowned by us with a blooming and holy garland, if we crown you in a
chaste and holy manner with a garland, grant that during the entire
year the happy brows of the sons of Quirinus be adorned with the
165 year the happy brows of the sons of Quirinus / be adorned with the

- 130 Saevitiam Venus alma dei, saevumque furorem
Mitigat. hac igitur Martem ratione sequuta est.
Ergo ubi tam sacrae vobis patefacta Diei
Causa fuit: mecum una omnes assurgite: primum est
Expolianda venus: Puroque lavanda liquore.
- 135 ¶ Confestim surgunt matres: alieque ministrant Venus
Vasa lavature Venerem: Pars una coronas lavatur.
Siccaque praeterito demunt appensa sub anno
Myrtea sarta: aliae remonent redimicula collo:
Nudaque tam nitido patuit Dea corpore: Quantum
- 140 Nulla fuit phrigii Pallasve: Sororve Tonantis
Iudicium passura ducis: neque candida Phoebe:
Thuricremis micat ara focis: combustaque odore
Sub testudineo fumant altaria tecto.
Olli cana Senex semperque tuenda Sacerdos
- 145 Flexa genu coepit, tacuere: ambasque sub axem
Extulerunt bona turba manus: si casta lavaris:
Si sancte pureque Venus: si laeta lavaris:
Et nos si caste Dea te pureque lavamus:
Sic duce te foelix Romanos abluat annus.
- 150 Tunc omnes: foelix Romanos abluat annus.
Postquam lota Venus fumoque aspersa recenti:
Nunc aliae calathos extendunt flore nitentes
Purpureisque rosis violisque: et prata virentem
Si quem Narcissum peperissent, aut Iacynthum:
- 155 Nunc niveas aliae vittas: auroque decora
Tegmina: luxuriosa etiam redimicula in Ostro
Purpureasque addunt vestes quae pura sacerdos
Omnia et innocuis manibus succincta recepit.
Et fronde ornabat Veneris caput orsaque sic est.
- 160 Si tu diva Venus nobis viridique piaque
Fronde coronaris: si te casteque pieque
Fronde coronamus: da toto laeta Quiritum
Fronde decorari Victrici tempora in anno.
Dixere ille etiam: da toto laeta Quiritum
- 165 Fronde decorari Victrici tempora in anno.

134 liquore: R 141 Phēḃē R 144 Senex? R 145 caepitt: acuere R. *corr.* Rc-v
162 et 164 *addidi punctum duplex.*

crown of Victory". Besides she placed upon her a Garment exquisite with gems and stiff with gold and varied colors; they add gifts to the hearths, they all and the pure priestess surround the Goddess with
 170 smoke and thus beseech her with humble voice, / "Accept, oh chaste Venus, the fragrances which a suppliant band offered, of old from Trojan blood, to your altar and to you; accept, oh sacred Venus, [the fragrances] which we consecrate to you; as you now are wreathed with radiant color, as now the opobalsums are breathing upon your sweetly
 175 smelling neck, / grant what we ask supplicatingly, grant that the whole year may proceed, fertile with delights, just as you inaugurate it". Yet when her duties released her from the crowded [*or*: solemn] cult, the priestess said, "Do this, oh mothers, so that it be according to custom,
 180 wash yourselves also under the glassy fountain. / The omen belongs to the waters, and the waters have their functions, and the rights are due to Venus in the dark blue waters, because Venus Aphrodite is born from the dark blue waters".

There is no delay, all hasten, but the holy older woman leads with
 185 reverent step, and she went into the optimum / spots which are wet, completely filled with the glassy waters. How pleasing it is, that the adorned matrons, the procession having been formed in honor of the goddess, and with their joyful temples wreathed under the green myrtle, bare their shoulders, and settle their nude bodies in the protected spot;
 190 and that first they worship Fortuna Virilis with incense, / let her conceal them from the men in this great rite. Accordingly after they had washed their shoulders and naked limbs, then fostering Venus, while she was standing in her heavenly pinnacle, heard her beseeching grand-daughters; neither was it a small matter to that great crowd, nor were
 195 the rewards of such a great day to be hidden, / but these were rewards which the Roman people, the Roman offspring, and the Roman fathers, boys and unmarried girls and the not yet blemished age of youth with its virginal flower, would pray for in their communal honor to Venus in her temples.

200 Meanwhile the hurler of flaming love / had stood nearby in the midst, where Olympus offers to the gods ambrosia and the liquid Nectar, the sweetest cups; he raised his head on high, eyeing all things

- Praeterea eximiam gemmis auroque rigentem
 Imposuit Pallam, Variisque coloribus: addunt
 Dona focis. fumoque omnes et pura sacerdos
 Circundant humilique Deam sic voce precantur.
- 170 Excipe casta Venus, quos supplex obtulit arae
 Et tibi Troiano quondam de sanguine turba:
 Excipe sacra Venus tibi quos sacramus odores:
 Ut tu purpureo nunc es redimita colore:
 Ut nunc aspirant bene olenti opobalsama collo:
- 175 Suppliciter da quod petimus: da totus ut annus
 Daeliciis faecundus eat velut incipis illum.
 Ast ubi eam celebri soluerunt munera cultu
 Hoc agite o matres quod sit de more, sacerdos
 Inquit: vos etiam vitreo sub fonte lavate.
- 180 Omen inest undis: et habent sua munera lymphae:
 Iuraque caeruleis Veneri sunt debita in undis:
 Caeruleis aphrodita Venus quia nascitur undis.
 ¶ Nulla mora est: properant omnes: sed praevia passu Matronae
 Sancta senex venerando incedit: et optima tendit se lavant.
- 185 In loca: quae vitreis oppleta liquoribus humant.
 Quam iuvat ornatas olli facto agmine matres
 Laetaque sub viridi praecinctas tempora myrto
 Denudare humeros: et sidere corpora tuto
 Nuda loco: atque prius fortunam thure virilem Matronae
 190 Excolere: illa viros in tanto munere caelet. invocant
 Ergo humeros postquam nudataque membra lavabant fortunam
 Audiit aetherea dum staret in arce precantes virilem.
- Alma Venus neptes: nec erat res parva tumultu:
 Praemia nec fuerant tanti occultanda diei:
- 195 Sed quae Romanus populus: Romana propago:
 Romanique patres: pueri innuptaeque puellae
 Floreque virgineo nondum maculata iuventus
 Communi in templis Veneri venerentur honore. Adventus
 ¶ Interea flammatorum iaculator amorum Cupidinis
- 200 In medio astiterat, superis ubi praestat Olympus in vere.
 Ambrosiam: et liquidum dulcissima pocula Nectar.
 Erexit sublime caput, circum omnia lustrans:
- 170 Venus. R 171 turba R 173 colore. R 196 pueri? inuptaeque R 198
 honore R 201 Nectar R

around, and wherever he in his happiness turned his burning eyes, oh
 205 what an insane people [he saw]; why do you / believe that he hurls his
 burning flames under no light, oh blind multitude and always fickle, for
 not thus does radiant Titan probe with the sun's torch the western
 shores (if ever though he sets); just so there are vigilant flames with a
 210 watchful eye for this one [Cupid]. / Therefore when he saw the snows
 spread out, in a liquid stream melted by the sun, beneath the lofty
 mountains of Asia and Africa, and even of Europe, certainly Europe is
 the mildest, so that as Europe is the most placid condition among all
 barbarians, by this Europe is so much more gentle than they [Africa
 215 and Asia]. /

Straightway he asked, "What age will be more apt for my mother?
 What time more readily would entwine youthful limbs, and would
 kindle my grim fires in their hearts? This is the appropriate time that
 the lover would follow the fleeing girl through the country, up the
 220 rocky slope or incline. / This is the apt time that the burning one would
 bemoan on his waxed tablets the harsh wounds and the fiery loves. This
 is the appropriate time, for the fair Naiad to give to her love the
 flowered garlands woven with different colors; but by what idleness am
 225 I, the foremost one in my mother's ranks, held back? / Or what cause
 draws me away from my usual arms? Why do the Nymphs, wandering
 here and there in no order, a secure band, rejoice in roving the reedy
 fields? Why do they wander intrepid, away from the bold Satyrs or
 230 Fauns? Why does my pipe made up of the seven reeds / now give forth
 with no song its pastoral things? Or why else do the women, the young,
 in vain followers of Venus, go everywhere with their marble hearts?
 Would a Race greedy of wasted time never stir up these women except
 235 with an ever watchful eye and eager step? / Enough of this, that the
 atrophied members of the men were stiffened with cold, and their spirits
 were buried in a trembling torpor. Let them be taught now with
 trembling face to pale under the heat in the summer [*or*: under passion],
 let them be taught the laws handed down by my mother in the sunny
 season, and at the same time let them be taught to bear the burning
 240 flames in their frozen hearts, / and let them value little the bows of

- Ardentesque oculos hylaris quacunq̃ue ferebat:
 Ardentes oculos: heu gens insana: quid illum
 205 Creditis ignitas sub nullo lumine flammās
 Torquere: o cecum et semper variabile vulgus:
 Non sic occiduas (si unquam tamen occidit) oras
 Rimatur radians solari lampade Titan
 Sunt velut huic vigiles vigili cum lumine flammāe.
 210 Ergo ubi diffusas, liquidoque liquescere fluxu
 Vidit sole nives Asiaeque Africaeque sub altis
 Montibus: Europaeque etiam. mitissima certe
 Europa. ut quam sit ratio placidissima in omni
 Barbarie: Europa hoc tanto sit mitior illis.
 215 ¶ Extemplo, quae nam genitrici erit aptior aetas?
 Quaeve dies, inquit, iuveniles implicet arctus
 Promptior? et miseros in pectora concitet ignes?
 Haec est apta dies fugientem rure puellam
 Saxoso ascensu, Clivove sequatur amator.
 220 Haec est apta dies: Caeratis dura tabellis
 Vulnera et ignitos ardens deploret amores.
 Haec est apta dies: vario contexta colore
 Florea sarta suo det candida Nais amanti:
 Ast ego qua teneor genitricis in agmine princeps
 225 Desidia? vel quae a solitis me distrahit armis
 Causa? quid errantes passim nullo ordine nymphae
 Gramineis gaudent secura vagarier agris
 Turba? quid a Satyris Faunisve procacibus errant
 Intrepidae? quorū septenis compacta cicutis
 230 Fistula iam nullo dat pastoralia cantu?
 Quidve adeo incassum Veneri obsequiosa iuventus
 Undique marmoreo spatiantur pectore matres?
 Has oculo nisi pervigili passuque sequaci
 Sollicitet Gens nunquam attriti temporis harpax?
 235 Est igitur riguisse satis contracta virorum
 Membra gelu: atque animos tremulo torpore sepultos.
 Discant nunc trepida facie pallere sub aestu:
 Discant iura meae sub aprico tempore matri
 Tradita: et in gelido succensas pectore flammās
 240 Ferre simul: parvi pendantque Cupidinis arcus.

Laus Eu-
 ropae.
 Verba
 gloriosa
 Cupidinis.

Cupid". Thus he speaks and he shakes the air with a sudden beating of wings, with a beating that spread fine breezes into the world; breezes which dispersed the fire of excessive weight.

Then the Earth was moved, then all the animals in the tree-filled
 245 woods / raised their heads, desiring the excessively sweet movements of
 first nature. And then, Cupid applauding, all of the youth of each and
 every region were stirred up, then the fishes mix up the waters, and they
 seek the highest and lowest parts of the sea, and they make sport at the
 250 same time each by his particular / law. Then the Nereids and then
 Neptune, divine son of happy Saturn, shake their Cerulean Faces, and
 their green hair in the bottom of the sea; and meanwhile also a great
 number of birds, cleaning their feathers while Apollo's torch was lit,
 255 sought to make nests and to feel / amongst themselves the heat sent
 down in the open air. And then with intent gaze the Queen of the birds
 eyes the thundering Jupiter; to see if he was loving any embraces of
 Ganymede. Then Juno burns for her brother and husband. And indeed
 260 the Three-tongued Porter by the infernal door rose up, / so that if in
 any way Proserpina was about to please the god Pluto, he [Cerberus]
 would bear arms eagerly before the God anywhere. Winged Cupid sees
 this from the mountaintop, and he reflects that the spirits of men are
 disposed toward his own wishes. Therefore, nimble as possible, he
 265 raised himself on high / into the fatherland and the most sacred
 thresholds of his beautiful mother.

BOOK TWO

It was a time that had blazed with Apollo's warmth, and when a
 pleasing quiet is opened to man in the placid shades, nor was it less
 accepted by the gods above; kindly Venus on her exalted throne orders
 5 that her lintels be thrown open, / lintels which enjoy being ornamented
 with tawny gold. What charm, or what majesty is there, and as far as
 the ornament of the Court could extend, there is an equal charm, or
 equal majesty, such as never existed in the seat of the Thunderer; and
 they would not be considered ornaments of the Palace. Around her sat

- Sic ait et subito alarum quatit aera plausu:
 Plausu, qui tenues auras diffudit in orbem:
 Auras, quae nimii diffilarunt ponderis ignem.
 ¶ Tunc Tellus commota fuit: tunc omnia sylvis
 245 Extulerunt caput arboreis animalia, primae
 Naturae nimium dulces optantia motus.
 Cunctaque cuius vis puero plaudente iuventus
 Est calefacta plagae: Tunc miscent aequora pisces:
 Summa petunt atque ima maris, proprioque iocantur
 250 Iure simul. Tunc Nereides: Tunc concutit imo
 Aequore Ceruleos Vultus, crinesque virentes
 Laeti Neptunus Saturni diva propago:
 Et dum etiam accenso purgabat Apolline plumas
 Plurima querit avis tunc nidificare: et aperto
 255 Aere demissum interse sentire calorem.
 Et tunc intento volucrum Regina tonantem
 Prospicit ore Iovem, Si quos Ganimedis amaret
 Amplexus. Tunc Iuno ardet fratremque virumque.
 Quin et tartareo surrexit poste Trilinguis
 260 Ianitor: ut placitura deo Proserpina si qua est
 Plutoni: ante Deum quovis ferat impiger arma:
 Haec videt Alatus summo de monte Cupido:
 Disponique animos hominum ad sua vota volutat.
 Ergo alacer quantusque potest, sese extulit alte
 265 In patriam et pulchrae sanctissima limina matris.

Omnia ele-
 menta et
 animalia ad
 primum
 Ver dispo-
 nuntur.

SECUNDUS LIBER

- Tempus erat tepido quod Apolline fulxerat: et quo
 Grata quies homini placidis aperitur in umbris:
 Nec minus illa fuit superis accaepta: superbo
 Imperat alma Venus solio sua limina pandi:
 5 Limina, quae fulvo gaudent ornari auro.
 Quis decor: aut quae maiestas: quantumque pateret
 Ornamentum Aulæ: quod nunquam in sede tonantis
 Par decor: aut par maiestas: nullumque ferantur
 Ornamentum Aulæ. Circum hanc veneranda sedebat

257 Iovem. R 261 armae R, corr. Rc-v 264 pôt R. *quod solvi deberet in potuit, at obstat metrum.*

II l q R qđ Rc-v

10 a venerable / crowd; Spring, both aromatic and with swelling shoots
was displaying her buds, and held the right side of the throne.

“Will there be any disdainer of such great works?” Spring begins to
speak to Venus with delightful mouth, “What reason can hold back a
15 productive Year? What indolent appetite? / Look how they beseech
your divine powers, the vine, and tree, and shrubs, and woods, and
meadows that will promise garlands, and induce heavy sleeps; now may
the restless loves of Mars stir you, whether embraces desired or
20 kisses / awaited so long”. Scarcely has she finished these words when
the divine Venus, slightly suffused by her rosy blush, smiled at her; she
felt the silent wound in her heart, and the familiar fires gradually being
renewed.

And even each and every Grace of the three (who entwine each
25 other’s arms with interchanging embrace / and add strength to things)
hung on the beseeching word of Spring, and with a burst of applause
they gave assent to the speaker. Meanwhile look, the son of Venus with
light weight stood there on swift wings in the midst of the council. /
30 Pleasing was the presence of so great a divinity; all gather around
everywhere, on the right and on the left they surround him, with gaping
mouths they attempt to welcome the approach of the God. What is he
bringing with him, or perhaps is there some prey prepared for his
35 arrows, to increase the Triumphs of Venus. /

He rebukes the souls of the bystanders, and berates the slowness of
his mother, “Now, why (he says) is so much effort ceasing? All things
to be loosened now from their knots seek to burst forth upon the earth;
all hearts are now suited to the bow of your Cupid, or reckless youths
40 are wandering with a quick desire / to spread out your sacred yoke on
their necks. Come out, oh sweet mother, and show your beautiful eyes;
thus may my weapons replenish our triumphs. Great are they among
the Mars-born and Thracians, and Dacians and Syrians, or where the
45 Nile forms her seven mouths; / great are they amid the warlike people,
who hurl punic weapons with savage means, among those in whom

- 10 Turba: et odoriferum et pregnantī palmitē gemmas
Ver erat ostentans: dextramque a sede tenebat.
¶ Ecquis erit tantorum operum contemptor? amoeno Verba ve-
Incipit ore loqui ad venerem: quae causa retardet ris ad ve-
Parturientem Annum? quae daesidiosa lubido? nerem.
- 15 Aspice ut implorent tua numina, vitis: et arbor:
Et frutices: silveque: et promissura coronas
Prata: et anhelatos etiam suasura sopores:
Iam te solliciti moveant Mavortis amores:
Sive affectati amplexus: sive oscula per tot
- 20 Expectata dies. vix haec compleverat: olli
Diva Venus roseo paulum suffusa pudore
Subrisit: tacitumque intra praecordia sensit
Vulnus: et assuetos sensim renovarier ignes.
¶ Et quaecunque etiam (quae inter se brachia nexu Carites ve-
25 Alterno involvunt atque addunt robora rebus) ri favent.
De tribus oranti pendebat veris ab ore
Gratia: et erupto plausu assensere loquenti.
Interea ecce levi Cythereia pondere proles
Concillii in medio velocibus astitit alis.
- 30 Grata fuit tanti praesentia numinis: omnes
Circumquaque fluunt: dextra, laevaue coronant:
Ore Dei excipere adventum conantur aperto.
Quid secum ferat: an forsā siet ulla sagittis
Praeda parata suis: Venerisque auctura Triumphos.
- 35 ¶ Ille animos astantum: atque increpat ocia matris: Verba cu-
Nam quor tantus (ait) cessat labor? omnia nodis pidinis ad
Iam solvenda suis quaerunt prorumpere in orbem: venerem.
Omnia iam vestri sunt apta cupidinis arcu
Pectora: vel tua sacra suis iuga pandere collis
- 40 Inconsulta levi fervore iuventa vagatur.
Egredere, o dulcis genitrix formosaeque profer
Lumina: sic nostros repleant mea tela triumphos.
Magna mihi inter martigenas Thracesque: Dacasque
Et Syrios: seu septem ubi conficit hostia Nilus:
- 45 Magna mihi inter belligeros, qui punica soevis
Tela modis torquent: inter, quibus ultima gaudet

farthest Hesperia rejoices, and the great glory rises for me from the frozen Alps; and Rich spoils are owed this one from the Italian race.
 50 But there is a certain one among the fraternal realms / which the Quirites now inhabit, and he is easy under the point of our dart, and he always fights with your Arms, he who tried to love even the harsh Licoris. He now seemed to me in light combat to pursue Laura and the
 55 exceedingly harsh passions of Laura; / right soon the fierce flame of each will devour their marrows; come forth, and receive the purged lands at last”.

The mother, having embraced the winged Deity in such an exchange of words, could not be restrained; she received kisses with clinging
 60 embrace, in the midst of his forehead / she had impressed the mark of her lip, but not with impunity; in turn such great fires suddenly flashed from the lips of the Goddess, and unless Venus herself controlled such hapless loves, she with perdition could have felt their harsh surges.
 65 Then he frees himself from the enfolding arms, / and from his mother’s bosom; and from the wall he snatches the suspended weapons, the suspended quivers, and sleek bow, and struggling with both knees, he bends it.

Then swiftly he halted in the midst of the doorways, and from on High he looks down upon the walls of the Roman race, “Oh mother, /
 70 behold the one prey”, he says, “for you which will be worthy of your divinity”; no more said he. With bitter wound he transfixes the breast of the pitiable Poet. With this inflamed wound he was ensnared by the fragrance of Laura. Then all laughed; the mother received the proffered
 75 gifts / of her son. Finally she rises up upon her lofty throne, and orders the most sacred links of her girdle to be brought in; they assist the joined souls, and the marriages of men, and preserve them commingled
 80 in a sweet love. They offer them charming manners, and fluent / eloquences creating true cultures among themselves.

Therefore when her attendants promptly did her bidding, and had brought the holy girdle and the joined links, then suddenly the roofs seemed to resound with the swift flight of doves; they first surround the

- Hesperia: et gelidis mihi surgit ab Alpibus ingens
 Gloria: et ex italo spolia huic debentur Opima
 Nomine. Sed quidam est inter fraterna Quirites
 50 Quae nunc regna colunt: nostri sub cuspide taeli
 Et facilis: Semperque tuis qui militat Armis:
 Et duram qui etiam tentavit amare Licorim.
 Is mihi nunc tenui visus certamine Lauram
 Ac nimium duos Laurae sectarier aestus:
 55 Iam iam utriusque ferox depascet flamma medullas:
 Egredere: et tandem purgatas excipe terras.
 ¶ Non potuit genitrix tanto in sermone teneri
 Aligerum amplexata Deum: strictoque recepit
 Oscula complexu: mediaque in fronte labelli
 60 Presserat exemplar: sed non impune: vicissim
 Tanta Deae subito micuere incendia labris:
 Quod, nisi tam miseros etiam moderetur amores
 Ipsa Venus, duos sensisset perdita fluctus.
 Tunc e complicitis sese explicat ille lacertis:
 65 Et gremio matris: suspensaque pariete taela:
 Suspensas pharetras: et mollem corripit arcum:
 Atque illum incurvat genibus connixus utrisque.
 ¶ Inde celer mediis foribus consistit: et Alte
 Moenia despexit Romanae gentis: et unam
 70 Ecce tibi, o mater, sic fatur, numine praedam
 Quae sit digna tuo: nec plura loquutus. Acerbo
 Vulnere traiecit miserandi pectora Vatis.
 Quo fuit ignito Laurae perplexus odore.
 Tunc risere omnes: oblataque munera mater
 75 Accaepit pueri. Se tandem in saede superba
 Erigit: et iubet afferri sanctissima caesti
 Vincula: quae iunctos animos: hominumque secundant
 Coniugia: et dulci commixta cupidine servant.
 Haec blandos illis mores: facundaque praebent
 80 Eloquia inter se veros fingentia cultus.
 ¶ Ergo ubi ab imperio non tardavere ministrae:
 Attulerantque sacrum commissaque vincula caestum:
 Ecce alachri subito sunt visa sonare volatu
 Tecta columbarum: Primum penetralia laeto
- Venus os-
culatur cupi-
dinem.
- Praeda cu-
pidinis.
- De Caesto
Veneris.
- Columbae
nuncie Ve-
neris.

85 inner courts / with a joyful flapping. But one of the doves more pure
than the others stopped before the divinity with modest expression.
Since Venus and Cupid carried on formerly a long contest on both sides
amid the flowering meadows, Venus by chance had settled in her
90 Idalian lands; / she here attempted to test her son's spirit, and to twit
him with jokes. "Come here now, son, and my darling Cupid, look;
after we are invited back to leisures by these fields, put away here your
bow and quiver and your flame-throwing arrows; let me find out which
95 of us is prompter to fill / these baskets with flowers; but if I should be
surpassed, and conquered by your attempt, all that you gather I will
weave into two crowns, your produced rewards. If otherwise? These
very same I demand as prizes for me, Son". But he, secure by aid of his
100 wings, / presented himself cheerfully into such a contest; he was lighter
than his mother, lighter perhaps because of his wings. Many were at
hand, of whom Peristera, the leader both timid and naive, in fear that
the Goddess would lose. Alas this naïvité was not to be a match for the
105 great madness of the gods above. / Having thought that Venus was
yielding to the wings of the boy, she added her help, she who was going
to gather flowers through the fields. Hapless maid, what envious fates
have allowed you to be intermingled with the deities? Cupid turning his
disturbed eyes said, "Will you thus, Peristera, carry this off unavenged?
110 / Or rather should I consider myself unworthy to be the god of love,
and of the deities the one to whom the other Powers yield, the one they
fear, the one they, having been disciplined, follow". Hapless she
listened, and too late the terrified one was afraid. She raised her hands
115 to tear her red hair; / alas oh piety, no hair do you have as before, oh
Peristera; instead of hair you stroke your temples wreathed in white
feathers; then sadly she wished to implore the sacred aid of the gods,
and to raise to the stars her mighty complaints; but she began to pour
120 out her garbled and raucous voice, / nor was she able to speak the
words thought in her heart; then listless, she seeks to beat herself with

- 85 Circumdant plausu. verum omnibus una columbis
 Purior ante deam pudibundo constitit ore.
 Quando quidem longum quondam certamen utrinque
 Mater Amorque inter florentia prata ferebant:
 Mater in Idaliis forsán consederat agris:
- 90 Hic pueri tentare animum conata: Iocisque Peristera
 Palpare. huc age iam nate et mea cura Cupido in columbam.
 Adverte: his postquam revocamur in ocia campis
 Pone arcum pharetramque hic flammíferasque sagittas:
 Experiár nostrum quis promptior impleat alter
- 95 Floribus hos calathos: quod si superata: tuoque
 Conatu devicta siem: quos legeris omnes
 In geminas nectam tua praemia parta coronas.
 Si secus? haec eadem posco mihi praemia Nate.
 Ille autem auxilio halarum securus, ovantem
- 100 Protulit in tantum sese certamen: eratque
 Matre sua levior: levior quia forsitan alis.
 Multae illic aderant: quarum Peristera princeps
 Et timida, et simplex, Dea ne succumberet: Eheu
 Non erat haec tanto superum pensanda furore
- 105 Simplicitas. pueri Venerem rata cedere pennis
 Addidit auxilium flores lectura per agrum.
 Infoelix virgo, quae te invida fata tulerunt
 Inter misceri superos? turbata Cupido
 Lumina convertens, tu ne hoc Peristera inultum
- 110 Sic referes? vel me potius dedigner amoris
 Esse deum: atque unum e superis cui caetera cedant
 Numina: quem timeant: quem castigata sequantur.
 Audiit infelix: timuitque exterrita tarde.
 Extulit illa manus rutilos laniare capillos:
- 115 Proh pietas: Coma nulla tibi est Peristera: ut ante:
 Proque coma niveis palpas circumdata pennis
 Tempora: tunc voluit sanctam implorare deorum
 Maesta fidem: grandesque ad sidera tollere questus:
 Verum indistinctam raucamque effundere vocem
- 120 Caepit: nec poterat meditata in pectore verba
 Solvere: tunc languens geminis se tundere palmis

86 deum R, deam Rc-v 100 Prorulit R, *correxí*. 112 sequantur: R 118 questus
 R: *punctum duplum add.* Rc 120 mediata R, *corr.* Rc-v.

both hands, for her palms she had extended twin wings. "Oh what can she do? Would she flee? In what caves can she hide herself?" Thus she
 125 ponders within herself with dull and useless mind. / But Venus, turning
 around, had seen the ire of the angry Cupid, and that this Nymph who
 had previously been the most beautiful of her sisters, was wearing the
 wings of a snow white Dove; so having taken pity on the fate of this
 one, she paused for a little, and consoling the timid one, she tried to
 130 stroke her with a gentle hand. / "The Doves will be the most definite
 care for Venus". Thus she spoke. From whence Venus is the most sure
 protectress for the doves. Therefore, after they had encircled the
 spacious dwellings with a long flight, finally (for she is not destitute of
 135 reason even if she is hated by the gods, and enjoys an unfair fate) / she
 stood most pure before the sacred power of Venus, until the divine
 Venus gave the sure and longed for signs of far-reaching pardon; after
 they were bestowed, the happy throng in ranks flies down from the
 purified Heavens.

There is an island extending its very rich arms into the Pamphilian
 140 Sea*, / and powerful in resources; where many inhabitants securely
 count their years under the open Sky. It also is most frequented rightly
 by Venus Acidalia; here a shady grove, and everywhere hemmed in by
 green trees, are the woods sacred to Venus. Here she possesses her laws
 145 / and her delights, and the season of Warm Spring. Here are (by
 Jupiter) the Idalian fields, fields which offer proper solace to the gods.
 Hither finally the fleet Doves steered in a sudden course, and into the
 150 green Myrtles (where there was the greatest abundance) / they descend,
 and they raise their hoarse cries to the stars.

In such great fields the very faithful watchman listened, the watch-
 man who has (unless perchance I am mistaken) the name of calm Sleep;
 he heard the approach of the goddess from Heaven above; this bird is
 155 always the messenger of the descent of Venus. / He hurries to arrange
 the paths and to loosen the trees' coverings, the coverings removing the
 ice and freezing cold. He opens the creaking doors on their golden

* Cyprus in the sea of love (φιλία). Pamphilia must not be confused with Pamphylia.

- Quaerit: pro palmis geminas extenderat halas.
 Quid faciat? fugiat ne? quibus se abscondat in antris
 Ignaro sic secum animoque volutat inani.
- 125 Sed Venus irati conversa Cupidinis iram
 Viderat: et niveae pennas gestare Columbae
 Quae prius extiterat pulcherrima Nympha sororum,
 Fata huius miserata igitur paulisper adhaesit:
 Et blanda tractare manu solata timentem
- 130 Certat: erunt Veneris certissima cura Columbae.
 Sic ait. inde Venus certa est tutela columbis.
 Illa igitur postquam longo tecta ampla volatu
 Cinxerunt, tandem (nec enim rationis egena est
 Et si exosa deis, fatisque fruatur iniquis)
- 135 Constitit ante sacrum Veneris purissima numen,
 Donec diva Venus certa expectataque longae
 Signa dedit veniae: quae postquam tradita: facto
 Agmine laeta cohors purgato devolat Axe.
 ¶ Insula Pamphilio est, uberrima bracchia Ponto Insula pam-
 140 Protendens: rerumque potens. ubi plurimus annos philia.
 Incola dinumerat Caelo securus aperto.
 Haec quoque Acidaliae merito est celeberrima matri:
 Hic nemus umbriferum: et viridantibus undique septum
 Arboribus, Veneri sacrum nemus. hic sua iura
- 145 Daeliciasque suas, et Aprici tempora Veris
 Possidet. Idalii sunt hic (proh Iuppiter) agri
 Agri qui superis solatia commoda praebent.
 Huc tandem volucres subito applicuere Columbae
 Tramite: et in virides (ubi maxima copia) Myrtos
- 150 Descendunt: raucas tolluntque ad sidera voces.
 ¶ Audiit in tantis custos fidissimus agris, Sopor cu-
 Custos qui placidi (fallor nisi forte) Soporis stos horto-
 Nomen habet: divaeque adventum sensit ab Axe: rum Vene-
 Haec avis est Veneris descensus nuncia semper. ris.
- 155 Concinnare vias et solvere tegmina currit
 Arboribus: glaciem et gelidum tollentia frigus.
 Auratoque aperit stridentes cardine postes.
 Excita Nereidum tanto stridore Caterva

hinges. Then the Band of the Nereids was excited at such a great noise,
160 and a group gathered together, and with happy shout / it immediately
entered the open fields of their sister goddess and they devoted them-
selves to pick new flowers all about.

But Venus with raised voice summons the two Girls. Each of these, a
charioteer, directs the holy four-swan chariot by learned art, she
165 alternately restrains and loosens the chains of the Swans. / The one
rejoices in her desired name Riches, but the care of the other one,
Youth, is to foster youthful hearts. To her youth is sacred. The Dear
mother bids them to bring down the swift chariot.

170 They with eager face received the command of their Mother; / they
lead the flashing wheels, and the Chariot with burning spokes, and
immediately they add gently the golden chains to the snowy Swans, so
snowy as never is a feather white; and indeed each one of them attends
two swans according to her proper task. They hurry to offer Venus the
175 four-swan chariot. / And first they climb aboard holding the reins.

Then Venus began to speak from such a throne, "Put away your
cares, oh maiden-attendants, recall your spirits, and live with me the
bright light under the triumphal time. It is now time to visit the Idalian
180 grove and flowering meadows, / and to trample darkness under foot,
and to reveal pleasant days, and the serene heavens". And while she
said this she clung on high in her chariot for a while. All vied to bow
their shoulders and necks, necks by which she may climb more lightly
185 onto the High chariot. / But when the winged one espied his mother on
high, and splendid in her chariot, he grasped his quiver and torches
hanging on his young shoulders, and with his right hand he grasped his
bow. And he goes, first having spoken in a quiet voice.

190 "(Unless one of you should deny me this), I am the author / and
leader of this troupe, and with my bold weapon am able to take the
lead". All agreed; then he, spurred on with his fleet wings, went before
his comrades, and he flew from the sky. They also with a great shout
195 follow the winged one. However after the Swans felt the holy weight /
and the reins were given to their sleek necks for a short time, they catch

- Tunc fuit: et glomerata manus: laetoque tumultu
 160 Cognatae in campos subito penetravit apertos
 Incumbuntque novos passim decerpere flores.
 ¶ At Venus excelso geminas vocat ore Puellas: Aurigae ve-
 Quaeque harum docta sanctas auriga quadrigas neris.
 Arte regit: retinetque et laxat vincula Cignis.
 165 Altera Divitiis optato nomine gaudet:
 Alterius vero iuveniles cura Iuventae
 Est fovisse animos. illique est sacra iuventus.
 His iubet Alma parens celeres deducere currus.
 ¶ Illae alacri imperium vultu accaepere Parentis: Currus ve-
 170 Ignitasque rotas, radiisque ardentibus Axes neris.
 Ducunt: atque aurata extemplo laeniter addunt
 Vincula tam niveis quam nunquam est candida Cignis Cigni Ve-
 Pluma: et enim illarum proprio pro munere olores neris Cur-
 Quaeque duos curat. Venerique offerre quadrigas rum ducunt.
 175 Accelerant. primaeque inscendunt lora tenentes.
 ¶ Tunc tanto Venus e solio: deponite curas Veneris
 O sociae: revocate animos: maecumque decoram descensus.
 Orsa triumphali sub tempore vivite lucem.
 Iam nos Idalium nemus et florentia prata
 180 Visere tempus adest: et conculcare tenebras:
 Ac suaves aperire dies, Caelumque serenum.
 Dumque ait haec paulum curru sublimis adhaesit.
 Certavere omnes humeros et subdere colla
 Colla quibus levior currus ascenderet Altos.
 185 Verum ubi sublimem matrem: curruque superbam
 Aliger inspexit: teneris pharetramque facesque
 Pendentes humeris et dextra corripit arcum.
 Et se primus agit placida sic voce locutus.
 ¶ Huius ego (nisi vestrum aliquis neget) agminis autor Cupido
 190 Et dux audaci possum praecurrere telo. dux agmi-
 Consensere omnes: tunc ille volucris halis nis.
 Percitus ante ibat socias: Caeloque volabat.
 Illae etiam aligerum summo clamore sequuntur.
 Sancta tamen postquam senserunt pondera Cigni
 195 Et data paulisper nitidis retinacula collis
 Excipiunt plenas pennis resonantibus auras:

the full breezes with whirring wings; then they vied to extol the gleaming goddess with sonorous song, or to bring her forth into the world with as much splendor as Venus offers among the gods above. / Behold the venerable power of Dione showed forth, behold her powerful over nature, I say, Venus the mistress of all men ventured forth, with whom the presence of Spring proceeds, and accompanies her on the left hand. By chance menacing Mars had fiercely taken his place in cruel Aries. / And he was threatening havoc for men, and high destruction for cities, and a rule that would bring fire on conquered kingdoms. Or indignant [he was threatening] to suppress his foster Children, and to confound the names of high Rome; with no reason to stir up arms and armed Tyrants / and cruel battle lines, and to make wars. Why do you so rage, Mars? What did Rome merit, what did the citizens born of your blood deserve? Or is it because the Ancestors' ancient respect of the divine cult has become unaccustomed to be cultivated? Or because Astrea is hidden in the curved / stars? Or because Rome, out of her mind, does not know her laws and her gods? Ah, no age was happier than now, and no laws, and no greater work of ruling, no fasces, no axes. Therefore come now, father Mars, now regard kind / Venus more mildly so that she may appear with her gentle visage; go now, accept now the loves [which were] not always lawful, and watch over your empire, and your dear Romans. Therefore when Mars regarded Venus' daughters, he blushed. He knew a familiar burden to be renewed in his deepest / heart for her, and the old fires to be enflamed; then soothingly he thus addresses his charming lover.

“Whither do you betake yourself, oh divine Venus, unique beauty of the gods, sole charm, and laughter and playfulness of the gods, and the only pleasure to warlike Mars in the midst of his weapons?” /

- Fulgentem deinceps concentu efferre sonoro
 Certavere deam: vel tantum prodere in orbem
 Quantum inter superos prestat Cytherea decorem.
- 200 Ecce Dioneum patuit venerabile numen:
 Ecce inquam rerumque potens: hominumque magistra
 Est egressa Venus: cum qua praesentia Veris
 Progreditur, laevaue manu comitatur euntem.
 Forte minax saevoque ferociter Ariete Mavors
- 205 Constiterat. stragemque viris, atque urbibus alta
 Excidia: et victis latura incendia regnis
 Regna minabatur: sive indignatus Alumnos
 Deprimere: et summae confundere nomina Romae:
 Armaque et armatos nulla ratione Tyrannos
- 210 Crudelesque ciere acies: et bella movere.
 Quid tantum gradive furis? quid Roma merebat
 Quid meruere tuo nati de sanguine cives?
 An quod prisca Patrum divi reverentia cultus
 Sit desueta coli? curvisque sit abdita in astris
- 215 Astrea? et demens ignoret iura: deosque
 Roma suos? ah: nulla fuit foelicior aetas
 Quam nunc: vel nullae leges: nullumque regendi
 Maius opus: nulli fasces: nullaeque secures.
 Quare age iam gradive pater: iam mitior almam
- 220 Cerne Cyrogeniam: ut blando se proferat ore:
 I modo: non semper licitos nunc accipe amores:
 Imperiumque tuum: carosque tuere Quirinos.
 Ergo Cytheriacas ubi Mars prospexit alumnas:
 Erubuit. solitumque olli renovarier imo
- 225 Pectore novit onus: veteresque incendier ignes:
 Tunc blandus blandam sic interpellat amantem.
 ¶ Quo te diva rapis, superum Venus unica forma: Mars ad
 Unae blandiciae: superum risusque: Iocique Venerem.
 Unaque belligero Marti per taela voluptas.

203 Progreditur. R 205 viris. R 208 Romae. R 220 Cyrogeniam: hoc nomen, quod legitur apud Scaevolam iurisperitum (*Digest. XXXIV 5.29*) et in paucis inscriptionibus, propter i longam peccat contra metrum. Scribendum esset Cypro genitam. At poeta bis hoc nomine usus est (cf. IV 197) ideoque eum mensuram ignorasse potius credendum est quam typographum bis in eodem erravisse. 225 onus. R

230 “We are going to ancient Cyprus, and to the Idalian grove with its
greening bud”, quietly thus she replied to his questioning. Then they
joined their tender hands, then lips joined to lips gave to each god
235 pleasing kisses. Then such sweet charms crept into their hearts / that
Mars became oblivious of his anger and fury. “I want”, he said, “the
Roman people to be strong and stable under your leadership, and this
empire to be established firmly for an eternal age, by her virtue, under
just laws”. Thus was Venus pleased. Led by the swans, and by the
guidance of light wheels she contentedly left Mars.

BOOK THREE

Now I am carried along in the opposite Regions and into Phoebus’
rays, these are not battles suited to our strength. But come now,
Urania, undertake such great causes, you alone, sister of Phoebus, you
5 alone, sister of the goddesses, / and the only one who preserves the stars
of continuous movement.

Venus, about to enter the starry home of Taurus, was going along
with her great tumult accompanying her, when lo, she perceived the
energetic whinnying of horses going through her ears; the mother lifts
10 her face, wondering who is cleaving the breezes of the air / with horses.
Suddenly she recognizes the Manes of the horses; then her companions
vied in close line to look at the new occurrences. But from her high
chariot Venus calls forth: “I recognize the horses of the Sun belching
15 flame from their full mouths, and his swift chariot; / I recognize
Phoebus, and the face of the god himself dyed with various lotions, the
better to endure the heat. How Thunderfoot Phlegon speeds along, how
Aethon now pounds the ether, how Pyrois is on fire, and the hoof of
20 Eous. Toward us their work goes. Apollo is about to approach / and
visit our home, ready to surround the slanting horns of our Taurus
with sweating labor”.

- 230 ¶ Tendimus antiquam Cyprum: Idaliumque virenti
 Flore nemus: placide sic rettulit illa petenti.
 Tunc teneras iunxere manus: coniuncta labellis
 Labra utrique deo tunc oscula grata dederunt.
 Pectore tam dulces quibus irrepsere lepores
 235 Ut fuerit Mars irarum oblitusque furoris.
 Firmam, ait, et stabilem Romanam te duce gentem
 Esse volo: Atque hoc aeterno firmarier aevo
 Imperium: virtute sua, sub legibus aequis.
 Sic placuit Veneri. Cignis, leviumque rotarum
 240 Ducta magisterio Martem contenta reliquit.

Venus ad
 Martem.

TERTIUS LIBER

- Nunc ego in adversos rapior contrarius Axes
 Et radios Phaebi: quae non sunt prelia nostri
 Roboris. at tantas tu nunc age, suscipe causas
 Urania: una soror Phaebi, soror una dearum:
 5 Unaque continui quae servas sidera motus.
 ¶ Ibat stellatam magno comitante tumultu
 Intratura domum Tauri Venus: ecce per aures
 Ire suas alacres hinnitus sensit equorum:
 Erigit ora parens, mirata quis aeris auras
 10 Scindat equis. subitoque Iubas agnovit equorum:
 Tunc sociae denso certabant agmine casus
 Inspectare novos: verum proclamat ab alto
 Curru diva Venus. flammam pleno ore vomentes
 Agnosco Titanis equos: celeresque quadrigas:
 15 Agnosco Phaebum: et vario medicamine tincta
 Ipsius ora dei melius passura calores.
 Ut properat Sonipes Phlegon: ut modo concutit Aeton
 Aetera: quantum ardens Pyrous: et ungula Eoi?
 Ad nos itur opus. nostram subiturus Apollo est
 20 Visurusque domum: nostrique obliqua labore
 Cornua sudato promptus circumdare Tauri.

Venus in
 Taurum in-
 trat.

231 petenti R.

III 8 halacres innitus R · 21 Tauri: R

While she said these things, she clung closer to Taurus, delaying
Phoebus' beauty; and while she raised the line of her vision higher with
25 her face, then by chance / she saw magnificent Phoebe with her snowy
breast receive the third degree, and be exalted in full orb. Wondrous
joys for her held Venus, and they exchanged greetings, the one hanging
30 on the lips of the other. May the gods grant that we Roman citizens /
may see also so many joys in the open year (if it is right to ask it).

Then both having been greeted, the sun hastened forth with fair light,
the highest glory of the sky, he alone having the unique gift of light,
and tries finally to climb upon the back of Taurus, he victor by the gift
35 of his tail. / No injury in Venus' mind are the affairs uncovered long
ago, and no wide meshed nets remain any longer in her thought, rather
those dreadful affairs have been forgotten; Phoebus and Venus bear
harmonious minds, harmonious hearts, and both bear a mind in
40 agreement. / The three Divinities, such as Olympus never will see when
about to bring cups, set foot in the joyful house. The greatest joy then
rose between the Pleiades and the Hyades, and the innermost house of
Venus rejoices deeply. But by now the long awaited hour under lofty
45 Cyprus warns / that the goddess has come forth, nor is she unmindful
of time, and that the bright divinity is descending in his orbit. And so
Venus began briefly in these words: "This is your roof, Phoebus, and
your house. Or make use of our things and take over your offices. The
50 Cyprian walls are calling me, / and my foster children are sufficiently
lamenting the absent one". To all, this cause of the mother seemed very
just. Together they joined hands, and together gave kisses; then before
the goddess her Snowy swans sound out their songs, sure to please the
55 Gods with their harmonious tune. / After this, however, they endeavor
to take up their duty of [drawing] the Chariot. It is gone from the
extended and Curved Axis and descends, and the flock strikes the
cleared air with light wings. Spring with her lovely appearance and

- ¶ Talia dum memorat: Tauro vicinius haesit
Phaebum remorata decus: dumque altius ore
Enixa est oculorum aciem: tunc tertia forte
25 Magnificam niveo graduum loca pectore Phaebem
Prospicit accipere: et pleno exaltarier orbe.
Mira olli Venerem tenuerunt gaudia: utrinque
Altera ab alterius pendens dabat ore salutem.
Dii faciant ut nos etiam tot gaudia aperto
30 Romani cives (Si phas) videamus in anno.
¶ Ergo salutata pulchro properabat utraque
Lumine sol, caeli summus decor: unica solus
Munera lucis habens: et dorso incumbere Tauri
Tandem conatur, caudai munere victor.
35 Nulla animo Veneris detecti iniuria quondam
Concubitus: et nulla animo iam rara supersunt
Retia: sed tetricae sunt facta obliviae causae,
Concordes animos: concordia pectora: et ambo
Compositam gestant Phaebusque et Cypria mentem.
40 Insistunt hylarante domo tria Numina: nunquam
Qualia conspiciet laturus pocula Olympus.
Maxima tunc orta inter Plaiadesque Hiadesque
Loetitiae: et Veneris penitus penetralia gaudent.
Sed iam longa monet sive expectata sub alta
45 Hora Cypro prodiisse deam: neque temporis illa est
Immemor: et clarum descendere numen in orbem.
Scilicet his orsa est breviter Venus: haec tua Phaebe
Tecta domusque tua est. vel nostris utere rebus:
Muneribusque incumbere tuis. me Cypria poscunt
50 Moenia: et absentem sat lamentantur alumnae.
Omnibus est visa haec iustissima causa parentis.
Coniungere manus pariter: pariterque dedere
Oscula: Tum Nivei ante deam moderantur olores
Unisono placitura Deis modulamina cantu.
55 Post tamen officio certant incumbere Currus.
Itur ab extenso et Curvo descenditur Axe:
Turbaque purgatum levibus ferit aera pennis.
Cum venere aspectu pulchro, pulchroque decore

Exaltatio
lunae in
Tauro.

Sol taurum
ascendit.

lovely beauty, shining with green and white covering, makes her way
60 with Venus / onto the Pamphilian shores. But first Spring plans to send
one who is to give forth the heraldings of the sacred time.

Therefore then she orders sad Procne to go, gasping to seek the
pitiable fate of her son and to question miserable Itys (unhappy
65 mother, and too much devoted to her sister, / to whom the concern of a
mother was less than the care of a sister), unless perhaps the swallow of
Procne should change names, Procne goes sprinkled with the Blood of
her son; Procne, more amenable to entreaties, either because of the
70 Wrath of the gods or her own Wrath; she returns flying, / accustomed
to houses, and to run through each and every house and through all the
lands; by chance through Aeolia came the talkative swallow about to
befoul the beams and royal roof of the proud king. Straightway King
Aeolus sees and recognizes the excellent signs of spring, and he speaks
75 thus to himself: / “Now from our hearts has violent lust been poured
out sufficiently; this season demands other winds”.

He had spoken. Then he summons from his high seat the presence of
the placid wind Favonius to come to him. Favonius heard This, and
80 arrived in the midst of the palace. / “Go swiftly, and carry out my
orders, Favonius”, so he spoke, “and compress the swift winds in their
usual prison, and bring out your breezes into the calmed world”. He
goes out purposefully, and surveys all things of the Sky and the
85 spreading earth, or whatever Gaps of winds he knows, / and he drives
them grumbling to themselves headlong into the deep waters, and
rushing with much raging, and they threatened to drive Neptune from
his waves. And sweet Favonius quickly pursues and drives them all into
90 Aeolia, and shuts them in their dark prison. /

Astonished were Neptune and the illustrious Queen of the Sea, not
knowing what cause was moving the sea, and in doubtful hearts they
reflect on such great movements: Whether against the Ilian fleet Juno’s
Wrath is again burning, perhaps having found out somewhere new
95 treacheries of the Trojan / boy; or whether with three-forked Fire the
savage wrath of Athena may be burning to pierce the breast of Oileus.

- Ver viridi et niveo prefulgens tegmine in oras
 60 Pamphiliās iter aggreditur. Verum ante volutat
 Mittere quae sacri praeconia temporis aedat.
 ¶ Tunc igitur tristem et nati miserabile fatum
 Quaerere anhelantem et miserum cunctarier Ithym:
 (Infoelix mater: nimiumque affecta sorori:
 65 Cura minor cui matris erat quam cura sororis)
 Ire iubet Prognem: Prognēs nisi forsā hyrundo
 Nomina commutet, Nati conspersa Cruore
 Aut superum aut propria magis obtestabilis Ira
 It Progne: redit atque volans quascunque per aedes
 70 Aedibus assueta atque omnes percurrere terras:
 Forte per Aeoliam pervenit garrula hyrundo
 Faedatura trabes: et regia tecta superbi
 Regis. Confestim Rex Aeolus optima veris
 Signa videt: novitque: et secum talia fatur.
 75 Iam satis ex nostris animis violenta lubido
 Profusa est: alios poscunt haec tempora flatus.
 ¶ Dixerat. Inde ciet celsa de sede, Favoni
 Ad sese veniat placidi presentia venti.
 Audiit Haec, mediaque Favonius astitit aula.
 80 Vade celer: Iussusque meos absolve favoni,
 Sic ait: et rapidos solito sub carcere ventos
 Coge: aurasque tuas pacatum profer in orbem.
 Impiger egreditur: Caeli, terraeque patentis
 Omnia: vel si quos ventorum norit Hiatus
 85 Lustrat: praecipitesque illos agit aequora in alta
 Saecum indignantes: multoque furore ruentes:
 Quique minarentur Neptunnum pellere ab undis.
 Insequitur velox: dulcisque Favonius omnes
 Cogit in aeoliam: et tenebroso carcere claudit.
 90 ¶ Attoniti fuerant Neptunus et inclita Ponti
 Regina: Ignarique fretum quae causa moveret:
 Et dubio tantos volvunt in pectore motus.
 Num quid in Iliacas iterum Iunonia classes
 Ardeat Ira: novos Troiani forsitan usquam
 95 Nacta dolos pueri. seu Palladis Igne trisulco
 Ferveat ira ferox configere pectora Oili.

Hyrundo
veris nun-
cia.

Adventus
Favonii
venti sua-
vissimi.

Dii pela-
gi etiam ver
sentiant.

Meanwhile Triton, Neptune's child, sees that the deep divinities of the profound Sea and the gods stand in doubt and in wavering fear.
 100 Then with full cheeks / he sounded his hollow horn. At the loud sound, all the Seas suddenly re-echo, and the hollow shores sound forth. Over the waters comes Triton with his cerulean crown; he marvels at the daylight serene in the Sky everywhere, and that gentle winds are
 105 blowing over lessened waves. /

Behold a thing new to see and wonderful to us, appears so suddenly as you could never blink your eye. The youth of Cythera were seen to surround the natal waters of the mother with a great shout, and Triton
 110 begins to wonder and to lift his eyes, / and observe what the path of the goddesses was, or where they were bound. Meanwhile Neptune felt his eager ears soothed with the clangor and melifluous sound of the Trumpets.

He saw four going a little ahead of the sacred Chariots, and all those
 115 went with equally youthful age; / from whose full throats the brass, stirred with alternate breaths, gave forth verses with sweet singing. First was one whose face was affable, never was it broken in its serene brow, and it was very well suited for joyous laughter. No wonder if on his
 120 forehead he bears the given name Laughter. / The second was one in whom there was always the desire and care of wearing ordered garments of purple hue, and this same one is proud in bearing, and puffed up in speech, and desires himself to be seen in front, before the others.
 125 To him, deservedly they had put the name of insane Pomp. / The third one who came was of the girlish sex, more talkative in the words she put together than a whole crowd, daring to stand up to anyone at all with her Eloquent verse. The fourth one coming is ornamented with Virginal beauty, yet all too eager to adorn her neck with various
 130 ornaments, / thus yielding too much to fleeting Youth.

These then from the top of the water Triton recognized to be the trumpet players of Venus, and he saw Venus on top of the Chariot, and straightway plunged his head under the waves. To his astonished
 135 Father he goes, and then he spoke thus. / Both consorts were speech-

- ¶ Conspicit Interea dubio Maris alta profundi
 Numina et ambiguo Triton Neptunnia proles
 Esse timore deos. Tunc plenis concava buccis
 100 Cornua concrepuit. Sonitu Maria omnia claro
 Extemplo reboant: et dant cava littora vocem.
 Caeruleo egreditur super aequora vertice Triton:
 Miraturque diem Caeli quacunq̃ue serenum:
 Et tenues animas spirare minoribus undis.
- ¶ Ecce novum aspectu: aspectu mirabile nobis
 105 Tam subito apparet quam nunquam stringere posses
 Unam oculorum aciem. visa est Cythereia iuventus
 Matris natales undas circumdare plausu:
 Mirari Cepitque oculos extollere Triton:
 110 Et servare deas, quae sit via: quove tenerent.
 Interea mulceri avidas clangore Tubarum
 Mellifluoque sono sensit Neptunnius aures.
- ¶ Quattuor ante sacros paulum praecedere Currus
 Vidit: et hos omnes pariter puerilibus annis
 115 Ire. quibus plenis alterno concita flatu
 Faucibus aera dabant cum dulci carmina cantu.
 Primus erat, cui frons facilis: nunquamve sereno
 Fracta supercilio: Laetoque aptissima risu.
 Nec mirum, si in fronte gerat data nomina Risus.
- 120 Alter erat phrygio compostas murice vestes
 Cui solum est semper studiumque et cura ferendi
 Atque idem accessu tumido: et sermone superbus:
 Et sese ante alios cupiens a fronte videri.
 Cui merito indiderant insani nomina Fastus.
- 125 Una puellari veniebat tertia sexu:
 Compositis verbis: turbaque loquacior omni:
 Facundoque audax cuicunque obsistere versu.
 Quartaque Virgineo veniens decorata decoro:
 Colla tamen vario nimium studiosa decore
- 130 Fingere: sic fragili nimis obsequiosa Iuventae.
 ¶ Has igitur summo cognovit ab aequore Triton
 Esse tubas Veneris: Veneremque in vertice Currus
 Vidit: et extemplo subter caput abdidit undis.
 Attonitumque adit ad Patrem: de hinc talia fatur.
- 135 Obmutuere ambo consortes: illa mariti
- Triton ne-
 ptunni fi-
 lius et nun-
 cius.
- Venus in
 oceanum de-
 scendit.
- Quattuor
 tubicines
 Veneris.
- Risus Tu-
 bicen Ve-
 neris.
- Fastus tu-
 bicen Ve-
 neris.
- Loquaci-
 tas Tibi-
 cina Ve-
 neris.
- Iuventus ve-
 neris Ti-
 bicina.
- Tritonis

less, the wife hangs on the words of her husband. "What is that messenger bringing?" he wonders to himself. "Ye to whom alone belongs the power over the sea, greetings, and with placid countenance receive all that I shall speak forth, and compose your hearts with cares
140 set down. / The powers on high, which being roused by stormy winds, until now had brought forth dangers, threatening to extinguish the highest things, the constellations of Heaven hanging under starry Jupiter, now however remain benevolent, and linger on easy wind. Now
145 the kindred Crowds fill your shores / and Venus leads down the yoke of her honored Chariot from the ether, and occupies her own seat in her native water". The Queen of the sea did not permit him to speak further, to whom pleasure brought interspersed joys as much as
150 concord is accustomed to bring in its turn / (if ever the hearts of brothers, standing apart, may come together).

And with soft right hand she invites the great king of the Ocean to rise, in such words: "What cause is delaying you, if Venus was born in your kingdom, if she is joined to us by blood, if it is the highest honor
155 to you, / if it is the greatest pleasure to remember that you, Neptune, are kindred to her, why do we both not rush forth to welcome her arrival and to provide hospitality to the goddess and to the cheery band of Youths?" But Neptune up to this point (nor was he that obedient to his wife) acts unmoved, and continued thinking over the different
160 points on both sides, / what the descent of Venus from the top of Olympus meant. However it divides the twelve months in a fixed scheme through the year and it turns back the elapsed time.

"These things considered give confidence", (the master of the Sea
165 thunders with exultant voice), "why the Cyprian mother of the loves / is stirring herself and why the lofty goddess is stirring her band of Youths exultant in spirit. Now with the new Spring another annual age is wheeling around; we shall see that the whole year is being renewed from its frozen ice, and Keels that have long lain hidden are climbing
170 the deeps and eagerly running in different directions on the light wind. / Such an age is deservedly conceded to the Cytherean; now that goddess is seeking again the Idalian fields, the solaces for her cares, where she is accustomed to go every year. Therefore it is Right that we too

- Pendet ab ore sui. Quid nuncius afferat ille
 Miratur secum. Quibus una potentia ponti est
 Salvete et placido quae proloquar omnia vultu
 Accipite: et positis componite pectora curis.
- 140 Alta procaellosis scopulos quae concita ventis
 Hactenus extulerant restinguere summa minantes
 Sub Iove stellato pendentia sidera Caeli:
 Nunc tamen aequa manent: faciliq̃ue morantur in aura.
 Nunc consanguinei complent tua littora Caetus:
- 145 Et iuga honorati deducit ab aethere Currus
 Natalique suam Venus occupat aequore sedem.
 Ulterius Regina freti non passa loquentem:
 Gaudia cui tantum tulit interiecta voluptas
 Quanta solet (si unquam longe distantia fratrum
 150 Pectora convenient) concordia ferre vicissim.
 ¶ Et molli magnum Oceani consurgere dextra
 Talibus invitat regem. Quae causa moratur,
 Si regnis est nata tuis: si sanguine nobis
 Iuncta Venus: si te illius Neptunne nepotem
- 155 Hic tibi summus honos: summa est meminisse voluptas:
 Excipere adventum? quor̃ non occurrimus ambo
 Hospiciumque deae atque hilari praeber̃e Iuventae?
 At Neptunus adhuc (neque tantum uxorius ille est)
 Se gerere immotum: et diversa putabat utrinque:
- 160 Quid sibi de summo Veneris descensus Olympo.
 Bissaenos tamen ex certa ratione per annum
 Partitur menses et tempora lapsa revolvit.
 ¶ Dant consulta fidem (Pelagi dominator ovanti
 Ore tonat) quo sese Cypria mater amorum
- 165 Quove agat exhilarantem animis excelsa Iuventam.
 Annua Vere novo nunc altera voluitur aetas:
 Et totum ex gelida glacie renovarĩe annum
 Quaeque diu latuere videbimus alta Carinas
 Scandere: certatimque levi discurrere vento.
- 170 Tanta Cytheriacae merito conceditur aetas:
 Nunc illa Idalios, quo se conferre quot annis
 Diva solet, curis repetit solatia campos.
 Ergo et nos placidi Phas est cognoscere Veris

verba ad
Neptunum.

Tethis ad
Neptunum.

Verba ne-
ptunni.

141 restringere R corr. Rc-v minantes: R; puncta delevit Rc
 : addidit Re

147 possa R corr. Rc-v

recognize the gifts of peaceful Spring, and accept powerful Venus on
 175 our Sea". / Hanging on these admonitions, the consort and the rest of
 the Sea band had stood about; up to now they were hoping to seek
 their old rites.

But now Triton was preparing to yoke together twin pairs of
 Dolphins and to lead the golden car to his aged father, in which he
 180 would rise out of the deep / water, and go to meet Venus in the midst
 of the waves. And again swifter than Eurus, he happily rises over the
 waters' surface; sitting on the placid top of the waters, he turns his
 watchful eyes all around, and scans all shores far and wide, as far as the
 185 sea surges in swells, / to see if he should sight swift Dolphins seeking
 Food with their accursed Beak, or if by chance lending to the Muses
 their ears, captivated by some sonorous Lyre.

Meanwhile a Dolphin was disturbing quivering fish in the sea while
 190 readying for the prey his hunger-pressed / mouth, and upturned breast,
 and he had driven them all together in the bottom of the sea, and then
 suddenly arose a thing wonderful to see; for while he held his breath in
 his long course through the water, just as the tips pulled together under
 195 the bow when it is drawn, shoot feathery arrows above the stars, / not
 otherwise then he seemed to have leapt from the dark hiding places,
 and he rose higher into the airs above than any Mast that ships may
 have on the Sea. Here Triton stood up, and he sees this one has fallen
 200 from the pure Air and far off on the Corinthian shore / he sees him
 plunge, and in sudden fall and sudden fear [he sees] the dolphins diving
 in a long line in the glassy waves. They reappear safely, where by
 chance Corinth stretches forth arms of thirsty sand into the wintry
 205 waves. Here they exercise themselves with various games, and here /
 linger to see if Cithern-playing Arion is singing something sweet with
 his mellifluous lyre, or if [there is] someone they may be allowed to
 carry. Oh animals too easily overcome by charming song, oh ears too
 greedy for human singing. It did not escape Triton what these consoling
 210 creatures seek, / what they await, clear to him was the story of the old
 adventure.

- Munera: et in Pelago Venerem acceptare potentem.
- 175 His monitis steterat consorsque, et caetera Ponti
Pendula turba: et ad huc veteres perquirere ritus
Optabat. sed iam Triton coniungere binos
Delphinas biiuges atque aurea plaustra parabat
Grandaevo ductare patri: quis scanderet altum
180 Aequeor: et in mediis Veneri foret obuius undis.
Atque iterum summas superat velocior Euro
Laetus aquas: placidoque insidens vertice aquarum
Circunfert vigiles oculos: atque omnia longe
Littora rimatur, quantum mare surgit in aestus:
- 185 Si videat celeres damnato Pabula Rostro
Querere Delphinos: aliqua seu forte sonora
Detentas auris Cithara praebere Camaenis.
¶ Interea trepidos turbabat in aequare pisces
Dum praedae accingit resupinum pectus, et ora
190 Pressa fame: atque omnis imo Delphinus in alveo
Compulerat: subitoque ortum est mirabile visu:
Nam dum clausa vadis longo spiramina cursu
Continuit, velut extenso contracta sub arcu
Cornua penniferas iaciunt super astra sagittas,
- 195 Haud aliter caecis tunc exiliisse latebris
Visus: et in superas sese tulit altius auras
Quam quemcunque habeant naves in Gurgite Malum.
Constitit hic Triton: puroque ex Aere lapsum
Atque Corinthiaco procul inde in littore mergi
200 Hunc videt: ac subito casu, subitoque timore
Delphinas vitreis longa agmina condier undis.
Securi redeunt, bibulo qua forte Corynthus
Pulvere in hibernos protendit bracchia fluctus.
Hic sese variis exercent lusibus: atque hic
205 Pectine mellifluo si quid Citharaedus Arion
Dulce canat, vel quem liceat portare morantur.
O nimium lepido superata animalia cantu:
O nimium cupidus humani carminis aures.
Non latuit Tritona: quid haec solatia poscant:
210 Quid maneant: veteris clara est sibi fabula facti.
¶ Quum peteret patriam: et patriis sua pectora nautis

Triton cur-
rum Neptun-
no parat.

Venatio
delphino-
rum.

Fabula

When Arion, famed both for his song and his Cithern playing, was seeking his fatherland and trusted his life to sailors, compatriots of his, there arose in them the love and madness for gold; for the captain of
 215 the ship it suggests hidden flames with growing passion. / They prepare a plan, and treachery, and the sailors strip Arion of all his possessions; with violent hands they clutch the neck of the wretched man. But his simplicity, always pleasing to the gods, softens so dire an attempt, and the horrid hearts of the men, and they draw back their sinful hands in
 220 the meantime. / He however was bidden by Him to give himself headlong to the midst of the waves; at this point he snatches his sonorous lyre and his pick on the high stern. And by his sweet sounding strings he brought down the presence of the gods from high Olympus. And he glimpses Dolphins, no less allured by such sweetness, leaping
 225 up / from the Depths of the sea; he (immediately) jumped from the ship's height into the water; at once the happy throng pick him up with their curved breasts, and crowding together carry him over the deep, while he plays and sings; then safely is he thus returned to the shore of
 230 Corinth. /

There is no delay; at once Triton, Neptunian Hero, sounds a blast; the trumpet pressed by the swift movement of the fingers (not roughly so as to give forth giant errors), finally, on all sides, with sweet speaking art sounds the return. Not thus did the Tyrrhenian sailors put
 235 aside their fierce / hearts from treachery; not so quickly, Bacchus, were their hearts given to your singing, as then the Dolphins, having their hearts called back by the horn, gave their necks to the accustomed harness. Triton joins together four most eager bodies (to whom it was
 240 always a care to lead Neptune's chariot) / out of all the number to the light chariot under the curved yoke, and swiftly they descend into the depths of the Seas.

But before them dances a long band with their backs curved, and it precedes [them], of whom one was the prince, near to thirty years old;
 245 for us, the highest reverence strengthens / our trust, and the honor to him was well beyond that to the others. When they stood before the face of the Father, the Father himself comes forth from his superb chamber of gilded vaults, and presently he received on his right the queen of the sea, Amphitrite.

- Crederet, et cantu et Cythara praeclarus Arion: Arionis.
 Surgit amor rabiesque auri: navisque magistro
 Sugerit occultas crescente cupidine flammās.
 215 Consilium, insidiasque parant: et Ariona rebus
 Expoliant nautae: miseroque obstringere saeva
 Colla manu. verum superis gratissima semper
 Simplicitas tam dirum incaeptum, atque horrida mulcet
 Corda virum: retrahuntque manus tantisper iniquas.
 220 Ille tamen iussus mediis se fluctibus Olli
 Precipitem ut daret: hic pecten plectrumque sonorum
 Corripit in celsa puppi. fidibusque deorum
 Numina dulcisonis summo deduxit Olympo.
 Nec minus allectos tanta dulcedine ab Imo
 225 Prosiliisse mari Delphinās prospicit: Ille
 (Haud mora) de summa saltavit in aequora puppi:
 Hunc subito excipiunt curvis laetissima turba
 Pectoribus: crebrique ferunt super alta sonantem:
 Inde Corynthiace sospes sic redditur orae.
 230 ¶ Nulla mora est: subito Triton Neptunnius Heros Triton del-
 Personat: et crebro digitorum buccina motu phinos iu-
 Pressa (giganteos ne redderet horrida casus) go coniungit.
 Undique dulciloqua tandem canit arte receptu.
 Non sic Thirreni posuere immania nautae
 235 Pectora ab insidiis, nec tam cito credita cantu
 Bacche tuo: quam tunc revocati pectora cornu
 Delphini dederunt solito sua colla capistro.
 Quattuor ex omni numero promptissima Triton
 Corpora (quis semper Neptunni ducere currus
 240 Cura fuit) levibus subter iuga panda quadrigis
 Coniungit: celeresque imo conduntur in Alveo.
 ¶ Longa sed ante illos volitat, dorsoque repando Inter del-
 Turba preit: quorum ter denis proximus annis phinos rex.
 Unus erat princeps: nobis reverentia firmat
 245 Summa fidem: atque honor ex aliis bene praestitus illi.
 Ut steterunt ante ora Patris: Pater ipse superbo
 Egreditur thalamo auratae testudinis: et mox
 Reginam excaepit dextra maris Amphytriten.

- 250 Straightway the home of Neptune appeared. It stands / erect raised
upon solid columns which she herself created, (as nature is the parent
of things), nor did this marble want to reflect anything composed of
parian marble; nevertheless that was whiter. The rest was made for
255 great offices. Before the very palace of the King / is a paved street, and
it has pebbles laid level, [making it] durable. There was a wall of the
various shells which choice shellfish wear, and it was decorated in pure
gold. Gilded doors turn heavily on Bronze hinges, and what a noble
260 threshold gives access to those going in; / the first place after the
entrance shows a fore-court worthy of Theater, and the benches are
carved out of many kinds of fish. In addition a Hall high with a
hundred steps and richly adorned is surrounded by glass windows.
- 265 Here is a varied order of things and here a delightful order / shows
many pictures on the shining wall. Here as it were is ancient chaos and
the first formerly unarranged cradle of things, and then how they were
separated into species with a wonderful order among themselves. Here
are the constellations in heaven, fixed in their perpetual places. Here the
270 Earth has animals, / here she also brings forth the green harvests, and
fortunate men, under whose sway are all things. Not far from here,
Saturn was, worn by cares and age, and with greedy mouth he devours
indefatigably his children. Here it shows how, as if trembling and in
275 tears, / Saturnus' Wife offers him the female offspring, and the males
she hides, lest she give her children to a death that has been sworn to;
further on, they have painted the Brothers contending for the rule of
the world, yet settling such great contests by lots, so that the first lot of
280 the Sky went to the great Thunderer, / by second lot the rule of the
Ocean fell to Neptune, to Pluto it is granted to reign in the farthest
place of Earth and of Orcus. Nor are gifts lacking to Venus, and to
Venus' boy; she as it were having risen up from under the waves among
285 the Gods, the most beautiful one at the head of nature; / here there is
also the contest for tender love of the divinity spurned by Phoebus;
here that Child of the gods boasts that he is the first chaos, after the

- ¶ Neptunni extemplo patuit domus. Illa columnis
 250 Stat solidis erecta super: quas ipsa creavit
 (Ut rerum est natura parens) nec reddere quicquam
 Compostum hoc voluit pario de marmore marmor:
 Candidius tamen illud erat: sunt caetera magnis
 Facta magisteriis. ante ipsa palatia Regis
 255 Strata via est: et habet silices durabilis aequas.
 Ex variis quas lauta ferunt conchilia testis
 Murus erat, puroque etiam decoratus in auro.
 Aurati postes graviter voluuntur Aheno
 Cardine: datque aditum quam nobile limen eunti:
 260 Primus ab ingressu locus atria digna Theatro
 Pandit, et ex multo caelata sedilia pisce.
 Praeterea centum gradibus sublimis et amplo
 Ornatu vitreis circumdatur Aula fenestris.
 ¶ Hic varius rerum atque hic delectabilis ordo
 265 Multiplices nitido picturas pariete monstrat.
 Hic velut antiquum cahos et cunabula prima
 Indigesta olim, deinceps miro ordine secum
 Divisa in species fuerint. Hic sidera caelo
 Perpetuis firmata locis. Animalia Tellus
 270 Hic habet: hic virides etiam producit aristas:
 Et fortunatos homines, quibus omnia subsunt.
 Nec procul hinc, aderat curis confectus et aevo
 Saturnus: natosque avido vorat impiger ore.
 Hic veluti trepida et lachrymabilis offerat illi
 275 Foemineam sobolem, et mares Saturnia Coniunx
 Caelet, iuratae ne det sua pignora morti:
 Ulterius Fratres mundi contendere regnum
 Depinxere: tamen tantas componere lites
 Sortibus: ut summo Caeli sors prima Tonanti,
 280 Imperium Oceani Neptunno sorte secunda
 Obtigerit: datur extremo Telluris et Orci
 Plutoni regnare loco. Nec munera desunt
 Et Veneri: et Veneris puero: velut illa sub undis
 Orta inter Superos rebus pulcherrima praesit:
 285 Hic etiam spreti tenero certamen amor
 Numinis a Phaebo: hic sese Puer ille deorum
 Iactat ab antiquo magni cahos ordine primum:

Domus ne-
ptunni.

Ordo pi-
cturarum in
regia nep-
tunni.

ancient arrangement of the great one, and casts his rapid fire into the
 breast of Apollo. At the base of the facing front, the vote is cast with
 290 various meanings, / and on this side and that the dogmas of wise men
 rise up in disputed forms; nevertheless all things stand here for a single
 judgment, and the causes of things are assigned to the water. Hither
 then into the middle of the hall they come down from the chambers,
 295 hither the band of Nereids scarcely noticed comes with an uproar; /
 here they held a contest taking turns with Divine verses, and they made
 the court of Nereus cheery. Here the hundred cofferings of the ceiling
 reflect the bright light of the torches, and the lamps glow with lasting
 300 light. The Ruler of the sea and greatest Tethys descended, / and in the
 midst of the throng lend their present divinities.

BOOK FOUR

Fame was staying deep out of the way under the storms of the sea,
 fearing the horrendous winter and the falls and threats of the sea, and
 the north Pole overcome by the clouds of heaven.

5 Her countenance reflected human beauty / and the radiance of a
 maiden, and [she had] green hair on the top, ornamented with eyes, like
 the tail which Juno's bird has and likes to spread out in a starry circle.
 While she reclined, resting in the midst of the waters, she placed her
 10 head on high, / under the purple dawn, where Aurora joins the horses
 of Titan under their yokes. Yet there is nothing that she doesn't know
 in the western regions, or where the winters bend Scythia under the icy
 snow. Fame therefore sensed the great day of Venus over the waters
 15 and that from their deep abode of the sea, / Neptune, King of the
 Ocean, and the allied ranks of the King were rushing together; there is
 no delay, each hand takes up the twin trumpets with deep voice made
 from the stout breastbone of the Dolphin. The tongue flies into each,
 through the open mouths blows the mighty sound, such as was never
 20 heard louder through the clouds; / the monsters of the deep sea stood
 shaken, and the crowd stupefied by uncertain murmurs.

Fame flew faster than speech, and it spread full-throated, bold to add

- Et rapidum in pectus contorquet Apollinis ignem.
 Fronte sub adversa vario sententia sensu
 290 Fertur: et in dubias hinc atque hinc dogmata formas
 Prudentum assurgunt: tamen hic stant omnia soli
 Iudicio: et rerum causae creduntur aquai.
 Huc ergo in mediam thalamis descenditur aulam:
 Huc se Nereidum vix nota caterva tumultu
 295 Confert: Divinis hic certavere vicissim
 Versibus, atque hylarem Nerei fecere cohortem.
 Hic claram reddunt lucem laquearia centum
 Lampadibus: fulgentque aeterno lumine lichni.
 Descendere sali Rectorque et maxima Thetis:
 300 Et medio praebent praesentia numina caetu.

LIBER QUARTUS

- Alta sub aequoreis latitabat Fama procellis
 Horrendam metuens hyemem: Casusque minasque
 Aequoris: et caeli superatum nubibus Axem.
 ¶ Illius humanos referebant ora decores
 5 Virgineumque iubar: viridesque in vertice crines:
 Ornatos oculis: qualem Iunonia caudam
 Fert avis: et gaudet stellatum extendere in orbem.
 Illa cubans medio dum se resupinat aquarum,
 Supponit sublime caput: qua sub iuga iungit
 10 Purpureo Titanis equos Aurora sub ortu.
 Et tamen occiduis nihil est quod nesciat oris:
 Aut ubi sub gelida scythiam nive frigora torquent.
 Illa igitur magnum Veneris super aequora fastum
 Sensit et ex ima pelagi concurrere sede
 15 Neptunnum Oceani Regem et socia agmina Regis:
 Nulla mora est: geminas manus utraque corripit alto
 Ore tubas solido Delphini e pectore factas.
 Lingua in utranque volat: per aperta foramina sufflat
 Ingentem sonitum: qualis per nubila nunquam
 20 Altius intonuit: steterunt tremefacta profundi
 Monstra freti: attonitumque incerto murmure vulgus.
 ¶ Fama volat citius dicto: plenisque vagatu

Fama etiam
in mari.

Fama sem-

something more of the true. The changing tale is spread immediately,
 25 either that / among the brothers, the lords of things, discord has arisen,
 and they are forming a plan of rearranging the weights of the world; or
 Neptune, driven by lone, desires a new marriage; thus the fish round-
 about, not knowing, were whirling their scaly backs everywhere; some
 30 jumped forth into the air, / yet others quivered, and hid in the muddy
 waves. That cohort of Sirens eager to destroy sailors, began however to
 dispel this uncertainty from their spirits, rejoicing to spread true fame
 through the sea.

Meanwhile the fostering crowd of Mother Venus descended into the
 35 cerulean sea; / they were eager to submerge their breasts and nude feet
 in the middle of the deep; not otherwise than when, if the room were
 about to see through the window the morning splendor spreading the
 rays of the sun about, the little bodies of the lightest touch were
 40 fluttering. / Lo, now the charioteers with Triumphant song have led
 down the quadriga flashing with jewels and gold. Yet after Venus had
 seen the waters which had seemed to recognize the divine will of the
 goddess, and were made level, and very much like still pools, then the
 Goddess speaks forth with open countenance thus:

45 “Hail, oh peaceful Waters, the first beginnings of things, natal
 waters, and you related gods of the deep, to whom is the care to
 replenish and build the world. Certainly, however great my power may
 be, it brings about that Strength through you, and I was able to surpass
 50 both men and nature; / Certainly our elegance, however great it is, is
 spread abroad through you, and this is yours, this grace of form given
 to me; you formed me, who had been nothing, neither recognized by
 the Divines, nor yet even born by my dear parents for the world; you
 55 formed me under the glassy sea, the future mistress / of the charming
 and of the beautiful, the force of nature. This is the new Light, and now
 Apollo has revolved the twelve signs of the Sky, and for just as many
 months he sweated out a year, from the time when we had washed our
 bodies in the sacred stream of the sea, and we undertook the omens of
 60 the beaming sun. / This is the new light and you call Venus back to
 earth, the one who is going to make the happy omen both for

- Faucibus: atque audax aliquid plus addere veri. per crescit.
 Ambigua extemplo vulgatur fabula: vel quod
- 25 Orta inter rerum dominos discordia fratres:
 Conciliumque ineant reparandi pondera mundi:
 Sive novos cupiat thalamos submotus amore
 Neptunus: sic circum ignari squammea pisces
 Undique terga rotant: alii prorumpere in altum,
- 30 At trepidare alii: et caenosis abdier undis.
 Hunc tamen errorem ex animis depellere caepit
 Exhilarans veram in ponto protendere famam
 Sirenus studiosa cohors disperdere nautas.
- ¶ Caeruleum interea descenderat Alma per aequor Venus in
 35 Turba Cytheriacae matris: medioque profundi mari.
 Pectora nudatosque pedes submergere ovabat:
 Non aliter, quam quom radios circumdare solis
 Si matutinum fuerit visura fenestris
 Aula iubar, volitant minimi corpuscula tactus.
- 40 Ecce Triumphali gemmis auroque micantes
 Aurigae cantu iam deduxere quadrigas.
 At Venus, aequari stagnisque simillima postquam
 Aequora prospexit, dominae quae noscere numen
 Visa forent: Tum sic vultu Dea fatur aperto.
- 45 ¶ Salvete: o placidae rerum primordia Lymphae:
 Natales undae: vos et cognata profundi
 Numina, quis cura est augere et tollere mundum.
 Scilicet id per vos, mihi quanta potentia Robur
 Efficit, et rebus potui prestare virisque:
- 50 Scilicet haec per vos, quanta est elegantia nobis,
 Spargitur: et vestra est, mihi quae data gratia formae:
 Vos me, quae nihili fueram, neque cognita Divis,
 Nec dum etiam a caris generata parentibus orbi,
 Vos me sub vitreo blandi pulchrique futuram
- 55 Formastis pelago dominam, rerumque potentem.
 Haec nova Lux: et iam bissema revolvit Apollo
 Signa Poli: et totidem sudavit mensibus annum:
 Ex quo nostra sacro maris ablueramus in alveo
 Corpora et aprici suscepimus omina solis.
- 60 Haec nova lux et vos Venerem revocatis in orbem:
 Facturam auspicium foelix et rebus et anno.

nature and the year. We are present, and by sacred power, it is pleasing to go through the pure waves, they have the power and the omen of the sunny season". Scarcely had she finished this, when she bathed herself
 65 in the middle of the whirlpool of the sea, / and gave the golden reins to the Swans.

These peaceful ones, when they felt their accustomed flight over the Ocean to be granted, now are seen to plunge their high necks in the sea, now to dip their spread feathers. And while thus they struggle, the
 70 Cyprian goddess thrice plunged in her rosy Chariot, / thrice she raised her smooth neck over the waters. Meanwhile Triton began to pour forth the full sounds from his Conch, and now he orders the Gods to go in long rows, whoever is able, whether from the sea or the stream.

Here, therefore, Proteus brings himself forward before the others
 75 over the courts: / learned in fashioning human limbs and at changing himself into various figures.

Then you might see the Rivers surge forth with their curved horns and fill up Equal ranks, and bind their temples with Reedy fronds and
 80 rouse sonorous songs. /

Here are lively Simois, and Xanthus, but sprinkled at their mouths with blood, the memorable sign of ancient battle.

Near to these is also the alabastros of Phrygia and Troy.

To this was joined [the stream] which the Thessalian land worships
 85 with deserved gifts; of which the shepherd of Admetus, Apollo, / while he bewailed his son, is said to have consecrated the waters. And he willed that they be called by the name Amphrysus.

Here was Antiger*, which the bloodless Centaurs befouled with the arrows of Hercules when they were bathing their wounded hides, and
 90 he was little happy to lose his glassy waters. /

And Anemon also a neighbor to the Roman meadows.

Asopus follows closely, low in his waters and frightened by the thunderbolt, when he forced the mad floods to rise up to Heaven so that he could dislodge from his high citadel the Thunderer, who secretly
 95 raped his tender daughter in the shape of a Bird. /

* Antiger is a manuscript variant of Aniger (in Greek: Anigros) in Vibius Sequester 32 (ed. R. Gelsomino, Leipzig 1967), a geographer printed in Rome in 1505 (editio princeps: Turin 1500). Gallus' version of the story, however comes from Ovid, *Met.* XV 282-284: Fundit Anigros aquas, postquam ... / ... illic lavere bimembres / vulnera, clavigeri quae fecerat Herculis arcus. According to Vibius Hercules killed the Centaurs: An(t)iger, qui ex cruore Centaurorum, quos Hercules interfecit ...

- Adsumus: et liquidas sancto iuvat ire per undas
 Numine: numen habent et temporis omen aprici.
 Vix ea finierat, medio se in gurgite ponti
- 65 Abluit: atque aurata dedit retinacula Cignis.
 ¶ Illi ubi consuetum placidi sensere volatum Cigni inter
 Concedi super Oceano: nunc summa videntur aquas lu-
 Mergere colla mari: extensas nunc tingere pennas. dunt.
 Dumque ita luctantur: Roseo dea Cypria Curru
- 70 Ter cecidit: ter leve tulit super aequora collum.
 Interea Triton plenos diffundere Concha
 Incaepit sonitus: et iam iubet ordine longo
 Ire Deos, quicumque mari seu flumine possent.
 ¶ Ecce igitur sese ante alios super atria profert Deorum or-
 do ante ne-
 75 Protheus, humanos effingere pectoris arctus ptunnum.
 Doctus et in varias sese mutare figuras. Protheus.
 ¶ Tunc videas curuis consurgere cornibus Amnes Fluviorum
 Et numeros complere Pares: et tempora fronde numina.
 Cingere Arundinea: cantusque citare sonoros. Simois.
 80 ¶ Hic alacer Simois, Xanthusque, sed ora cruore Xanthus.
 Conspersi, antiquae signum memorabile pugnae. Alaba-
 ¶ Proximus his etiam phrygiae Troiaeque alabastros. stros.
 ¶ Huic coniunctus erat, meritis quem Thessala tellus Amphry-
 Muneribus colit: admeti cui pastor Apollo sus.
 85 Dum gerneret genitum, fertur sacrasse liquores.
 Atque Amphrysiaco voluit cognomine dici.
 ¶ Antiger Herculeis quem faedavere sagittis Antiger.
 Centauri exangues dum saucia terga lavarent:
 Hic erat et vitreas male gratus perdere lymphas.
- 90 ¶ Romanisque etiam pratis vicinus Anemon. Anemon.
 ¶ Subsequitur depressus aquis et fulmine Asopus Asopus.
 Territus, insanos quom crescere in Aethera fluctus
 Cogeret ut summa turbaret ab arce Tonantem:
 Qui teneram furtim compressit in Halite natam.
- 95 ¶ Nec procul hinc Cherius numero nec distat eodem Cherius.

Neither is Cheries distant from here nor does Neleus stand apart from this same number; it is characteristic of both to deceive Nature, parent of things and men; when bristles clean the fleeces, the former gives back a certain dazzling white from the black and the other
 100 blackens snowy wools amidst the sodden sheepfolds. / Furthermore an innumerable band takes up the rear without order, and they all gather together; one of these is Oretus, one Oscorus, and one the Ostura flowing from lesser Hesperia.

Then came Ormigus, sacred to the poets and more desired to the
 105 Swans. Yet among all certainly the most beautiful / bodies were mingled, the Nile, which always flooding, nourishes the soil of Egypt, to which the Mintius clings, which preserved the grandiloquent Poet for you, oh Mantua.

Achelous followed then, crowned with various wreaths at the temples,
 110 the one from whose broken horn (the memorable deed of cruel / Hercules) an abundance of things poured forth. Although he turns himself into very many forms.

The Tiber went rejoicing, closely joined to the god of the Sea, the one to whom the highest power of the Roman empire was given, either to
 115 restrict or extend wide boundaries for the world, / when he was forcing himself into his Riverbed from his twins.

Why should I mention what an impression there is of Rhodanus, raised by such majesty, or ornamented under so much purple?

Or why should I tell of the Pactolus which wanders through the Smyranean meadows?

Or why should I mention the Tagus, both proud of the gold
 120 produced on their banks? / There is no more delay, and all Nymphs and the Gods and Goddesses follow in equal number, who preside over the pure fountains.

The first hastens with a light bound, to whom is the name Acida; her fountain is sacred to Acidalian Venus, there the Graces intertwined
 125 bathe nude. /

She is followed by Galatea, wickedly ravaged beneath the wild wave; she mourns her lover Acis with perpetual tears, whom the right hand of Polyphemus slew, since Acis had been preferred to him, and who was changed into the liquid fountain bearing his name.

And among the others, Amymone boasted of Nauplius to Neptune,
 130 Amymone the most beautiful daughter of King Danaus; while she was

- Neleus: amborum est rerumque hominumque parentem Neleus.
 Fallere Naturam: dum purgant vellera saetae:
 Ille quidem ex nigris candentia reddit: et alter
 Denigrat niveas madida inter ovilia lanas.
- 100 Preterea manus innumera et sine lege sequuntur
 A tergo, ac sese glomerant: quorum unus Oretus, Oretus.
 Oscorus, Hesperiaque fluens Ostura minori. Oscorus.
 ¶ Vatibus inde sacer Cignisque optatior ibat Ostura.
 Ormigus. Ast inter cunctos pulcherrima prorsus Ormigus.
 105 Corpora miscentur: Nilus qui semper inundans Nilus.
 Aegypti faecundat humum: cui Mintius haeret
 Qui tibi grandiloquum servavit Mantua Vatem. Mintius.
 ¶ Succedit variis redimitus tempora sertis Achelous.
 Cuius ab effracto cornu (memorabile soevi
- 110 Alcidae facinus) surgebat copia rerum.
 Plurima se quamvis Achelous vertat in ora.
 ¶ Ibat ovans: Pelagique deo coniunctior unus Tyberi-
 Romani imperii data erat cui summa potestas nus.
 Aut premere aut mundo latos extendere fines,
- 115 Cogere a geminis cum se Tyberinus in Alveum.
 ¶ Quid memorem Rhodani quae sit praesentia? quanto
 Culta magisterio, quantove ornata sub ostro? Rhodanus.
 ¶ Seu quid Pactolum qui Smyrnea prata pererrat, Pactolus.
 ¶ Quidve Tagum in ripis auro nascente superbos? Tagus.
- 120 Fit mora nulla: pari numero Nymphaeque sequuntur
 Diique Deaeque omnes: puris qui fontibus adsunt.
 ¶ Prima levi properat saltu, cui nomen Acida Nymphae
 Cuius Acidaliae Veneri fons est sacer: illic quae Ne-
 Connexae interse Charites nudaeque lavantur. ptunnum
 125 ¶ Quam sequitur Galathea fero male pressa sub aestu praecedunt.
 Perpetuis Acim lachrimis quae plorat amantem, Galathea.
 Quem sibi praelatum Poliphaemi dextra peremit
 Mutatumque suo in liquidum de nomine fontem.
 ¶ Atque alias inter, Nauplum iactabat Amimon Amimon.
- 130 Neptunno, Danaï pulcherrima regis Amimon

fleeing the Satyr, having been raped under the tall trees she gave birth to the child Nauplius by Neptune.

The Naiads come, Drymo and Xantha blushing with equally splendid
135 color, and Legea with sonorous song, / Phillodoce girt with leaves; the very swift one flowing with the nobility of horses, Cydippe, and with adorned hair. Thaebe bears herself along happily; Echyra proceeds and Deiopeia brings the long train with her.

140 The Nereids follow, Glauce, and green Thalia, / Speo, Cymodoce and Nesaea powerful at swimming. Thence all the Nymphs rejoiced in the long ranks.

Behold then the eminent Father of the Ocean rides forth on his lofty Chariot, and he leaves the golden palaces. Triton himself held the
145 tethered Dolphins with sure order, / so that they turned neither to the right, nor left part, but that the path is preserved in its middle course. On the one side the numberless Glauci [or: the countless ones of Glaucus], on the other, the Tritons follow behind, and the multitude mingles together
150 into a long file. Now they hurry, now they raise their tranquil faces above the waters, / and now the joyful honors are shown to Venus, and the Neptunian throng is joined to the Acidalian company; moreover Neptune, reclining on his throne in the middle of the Chariot, with his right hand led the Queen of the Ocean, resplendent with gems and gold, and with her
155 hair bound below the temples with a verdant fillet; / and he held the trident in his left. At the top of the Chariot is the most beautiful shell, the shell, the ever wondrous covering of the new Venus. She now rejoices, now happily admires again the Nereids going along with their various little
160 garlands / (which they had picked) recently in Idalium. Then the cerulean spirits are joined to her band. But now she sights the Chariot of Neptune and Amphitrite coming onto the high seas. She gives a signal, the charioteers strain toward their vehicle and they stir up more
165 rapidly the panting Swans. / The troops on both sides cheer, and at the same time on both sides, the Shell and the Horns pour forth Melodious voices to the stars. Hence Triton urges the Dolphins, and he orders the

- Filia, dum Satyrum fugeret, compressa sub altis
Arboribus peperit Neptunno pignora Nauplum.
¶ Naiades veniunt, Drymo, pariterque colore
Xantha rubens nitido: cantuque Legea sonoro:
- 135 Phillodoce foliis procincta: celerrima equorum
Nobilitate fluens, crinesque ornata Cydippe.
Effert se laetam Thaebe: procedit Echyra
Et longam secum fert Deiopeia catervam.
¶ Nereides subeunt: Glauce, viridisque Thalia
140 Speo, Cymodoce, atque potens Nesaea natandi.
Inde omnes longo laetantur in ordine Nymphae.
¶ Ecce igitur Pater Oceani sublimis in alto
Egreditur Curru: atque aurata palatia linquit.
Ipse capistratos certa cum lege tenebat
- 145 Delphinas Triton: dextra, neu parte sinistra
Vertant: sed medio servetur semita cursu.
Hinc Glauci innumeri: hinc Tritones pone sequuntur:
Atque una longum miscetur vulgus in agmen.
Iam properant: iam tranquillos super aequora vultus
- 150 Tollunt: iamque hylares Veneri probentur honores:
Iunctaque Acidaliae Neptunnia turba caterve:
Ipse autem solio annixus, mediisque Quadrigas
Reginam Oceani, gemmis, auroque micantem
Et viridi cinctam crines sub tempora filo
- 155 Dextra Neptunus ducit: laevaue tridentem
Sustinet. in summo Curru pulcherrima concha est:
Concha novae Veneris semper memorabile tegmen
Tunc gaudet: tunc laeta iterum miratur euntes
Nereides variis (quas collegere) corollis
- 160 Nuper in Idalio. tunc caerula numina turbae
Iuncta suae. sed iam venientis in alta Quadrigas
Aequora prospectat Neptunni atque Amphytrites.
Dat signum: aurigae adversum sua tendere plaustra
Atque in anhelantes citius consurgere Cignos.
- 165 Exhilarant utrinque acies: utrinque Canoras
Concha Tubaeque simul fundunt ad sidera voces.
Delphinos citat hinc Triton: colloque repando

Nomina Na-
iade.

Nomina Ne-
reide.

Neptun-
nus egre-
ditur.

Concha Ve-
neris.

speedy ones to go with curved necks, and to hurry to the great goddess.

- 170 Mother Venus then comes to meet the king of the Ocean, / and she,
with joyous countenance composed, greets him briefly, "Oh noble
Child of Saturn, greetings, you who hold reign of the deep by lot; you
who alone have the earth to contain and press, extending your arms
along the lengthy shore, so that there may be the alternate Elements,
175 and they alternately / may both produce and check their changes, with
their roles made equal. And you most beautiful Tethys to whom the sky
and his most holy consort Vesta gave the first birth, greetings. Lo, I,
Venus, descending from the highest summit of Olympus reclaim my
180 native seat, and you who are to me always / the outstanding deities, the
cause of such beautiful shape".

- Both the King and Queen greet her as she is speaking, and they place
her in the middle of the Chariot, who was resisting, and then they are
riding along with much conversation among themselves. The trumpets
185 sound rather far away. The hollow horn repeats the distant sounds / all
around; the rest of the crowd gives applause. They climb the Carpa-
thian Sea, and they go past the spreading borders of Syria; they greet
the outermost realms of the Cilicians. These are the places far and wide
nearest to the Pamphilian lands; now the venerable temple of Venus
190 Acrea is seen, / across whose threshold neither can a deceiving woman
step, nor is she seen as she goes. Now the broadest isle, Cyprus,
stretches out among so many peoples; now lofty Cythera appears to all,
195 and next Paphos, next Palepaphos and Salamis are seen. / And next the
divine cohort went into the open fields, and led the trembling Dances
across the thirsty sand, while they awaited the Cyprian-born Mother on
the beach. Therefore when Triton had led the chariot, pressed down by
200 the triple gods, but nevertheless speedy, to the desired ports, / then
cheerful Venus was happy to establish herself over and over in her
smooth shell, and to recognize the first seats; then she spoke many
comforting things to gentle Tethys. Finally they give, and on both sides
among themselves they repeat the greetings. And Neptune brings forth

- Veloces iubet ire: deaeque occurrere magnae.
 ¶ Alma igitur Venus Oceani venit obvia regi
 170 Et breviter vultus hylares composta salutat.
 Salve Saturni Proles generosa: profundi
 Imperium qui sorte tenes. Quis cogere terram
 Et premere extendens tua bracchia margine longo
 Solus habes: ut sint alterna Elementa: vicesque
 175 Partibus aequatis alterna ferantque negentque.
 Et tu cui caelum et consors sanctissima primos
 Ortus Vaesta dedit salve pulcherrima Taethi.
 En Venus extremo descendens culmine Olympi
 Natales repeto sedes: et vos mihi semper
 180 Numina tam pulchrae causam praestantia formae.
 ¶ Excipiunt ambo Rex et Regina loquentem:
 Queque repugnabat, mediam statuere Quadrigis:
 Et longo inter se tandem sermone vehuntur.
 Longius aera crepant. Longos cava buccina reddit
 185 Circumquaque sonos: Plausus dat caetera turba.
 Carpathium mare conscendunt: Syriaeque patentes
 Praetereunt fines: Cilicumque extrema salutant.
 Quae sunt Pamphiliae late loca proxima terrae:
 Iam patet Acreae Veneris venerabile templum:
 190 In cuius malesuada potest neque faemina limen
 Ferre pedes: oculis neque contemplatur eundo.
 Iam patet inter tot populos latissima Cyprus
 Insula: iam apparent cunctis excelsa Cythera:
 Iamque Paphos: iam Palepaphos: Salamisque videntur.
 195 Et iam diva cohors campos intrabat apertos:
 Et tremulas bibula Choreas ducebat harena:
 Dum Cyprogeniam expectant in littore Matrem.
 Ergo ubi ad optatos Triton velocia portus
 Plaustra tamen triplici deduxit numine pressa
 200 Tunc iterum atque iterum in levi se condere concha
 Gestit leta Venus, primasque agnoscere sedes:
 Multaque dein placidae memorat solatia Tethi.
 Dant tandem, utrinque interse, repetuntque salutem.
 Atque haec faestivo profert Neptunnus ab ore.

Venus ne-
ptunno fit
obvia.

Venus in
Curru ne-
ptunni.

Carpathi-
um mare.

Templum
Veneris.
Acreae.
Cyprus.
Cythera.
Paphos.
Palepa-
phos.
Salamis.

205 these things joyfully from his lips, / "If it pleases you to take up
 residence here in this watery realm and to dwell in your ancestral home,
 and to share our rule, lo I preserve for you the common waters; oh,
 sweetest Venus, halt here your steps, take these realms in accordance
 210 with your wishes; but if the plan is fixed in your mind / to continue,
 and to open the days, happy for a long time, for wretched mortals, then
 speed on; see to it, Venus, that your omen is happily revealed; I say
 reveal joyously the day, and spread forth something memorable for all
 time".

215 That one however, whose lengthiest care it is / to satisfy human
 hearts, returns thanks for such promises and says that she will be
 mindful; and summoning her Chariot, she mounts lightly then, and
 they renew the greeting on both sides. She steps out of the Ocean. Then
 220 Triton calls the gods together in one place, and bids them to go home. /
 Neptune and Tethys are borne by their swift Chariot, and through the
 middle of the sea they rejoice in the serene light.

Cupid himself, however, who first in such a line, was driving on the
 crowd, bore himself up into the upper air and he stopped over Idalium
 with beating wings. /

225 Then he arranges the swift arrow between the extended horns, and he
 shoots it high from the contracted bow. It flies like the wind, and
 through the thick airs it is raised into the clear Sky, the darkness having
 been rent. And the arrow gave a sign awesome to say but delightful to
 230 see; / for when it went into the Stars and was not seen anymore, having
 been kindled under the Fire of heaven, it fell in a long path onto the
 walls of Cyprus. No doubt the whole island was stupefied by such a
 235 Sign, and the people running suddenly hasten to the shores; / they wish
 to know what this cheerful applause means, and what the sound of
 Trumpets means, and what is the explanation for such a long troop.
 They recognize Venus, under whose sway they were, they recognize
 their Queen of Cyprus seeking her realms.

From thence it comes about that each one takes his place in the holy
 240 Senate; / the fathers assemble from all sides, and in the middle of the
 council they whose age was weak set down their bodies. On this side
 and that the youths stood, but now the rest of the plebeians in order
 occupied the halls and even the doors. Finally agreeing in their minds,

- 205 Si iuvat in liquidis hic vos consistere regnis
 Et patrias habitare casas: nostrique tenere
 Imperii partem: ecce tibi communia servo
 Aequora: siste gradus Venus o dulcissima: votis
 Haec cape regna tuis: sed si sententia menti
- 210 Pergere: faelicesque diu mortalibus aegris
 Certa aperire dies: propera: faeliciter omen
 Fac pateat Cytherea tuum: faeliciter inquam
 Pande dies: et pande aliquid memorabile in aevum.
 ¶ Illa autem, cui mortales longissima cura est
- 215 Explevisse animos, grates tantisque referre
 Se memorem fore pollicitis: Curruque vocato
 Inde salit levior: renovantque hinc inde salutem.
 Illa ex Oceano egreditur. tunc numina in unum
 Convocat: et patrios Triton iubet ire penates.
- 220 Neptunnus celeri Curru Thetisque vehuntur,
 Perque salis medium laetantur luce serena.
 ¶ Ipse autem tanto qui primus in agmine turbam
 Exercebat Amor: sese tulit aera in altum
 Et super Idalium plaudentibus astitit halis.
- 225 ¶ Velocem tunc extensa inter cornua pennam
 Collocat: atque alte contracto mittit ab arcu.
 Illa volat similis vento: crassasque per auras
 Tollitur in liquidum scissa caligine Caelum.
 Et dictu horrendum sed delectabile visu
- 230 Penna dedit signum: nam quando in Sidera venit
 Nec visa ulterius, caelesti accensa sub Igne
 In Cypri longo delapsa est maenia sulco.
 Scilicet obstupuit tali tota insula Signo:
 Et populus subito properare ad littora cursu:
- 235 Quid velit hic alacer plausus: clangorque Tubarum
 Scire cupit: quae sit tam longae causa catervae.
 Agnoscunt Venerem: in cuius ditione sedebant:
 Reginam agnoscunt Cypri sua regna petentem.
 ¶ Inde fit ut sancto statuatur se quisque Senatu:
- 240 Undique conveniunt patres: medioque reponunt
 Corpora concilio quibus esset debilis aetas.
 Hinc atque hinc iuvenes astabant: Atria sed iam
 Caetera plebs portasque etiam inconfusa tenebat.

Neptun-
nus ad Ve-
nerem.

Venus ex
mari in Cy-
prum.

Cupido in
Idalium.

Sagitta cu-
pidinis in
ignem.

Concilium
populi.

245 they decide to make for the shrines of the gods, / and to venerate them with sacred hymns, and that the Priests adorned at the temples with sacred fronds, and sacred fillets, should go around bearing the images.

Chiefly they carried the effigy of Venus, on whose neck a very long Beard hangs, and the hairs gleam, and the style of dress was masculine;
250 / the remaining part shows the feminine Sex at the breast. It is an ancient religion, it is an ancient wisdom, that the gods are distinguished amongst themselves by no discrimination of sex.

They hurried therefore; the boys and unmarried girls lead the way,
255 the mothers follow with varying conversation. / Behind are the Priests, yet in the middle of the rank of these the holy image of the Goddess is carried with much honor. Then follow the fathers, and all the people; but for each one myrtle wreaths cover their hair, and they raise songs to
260 the stars. Golden Venus received so many prayers of men (for what / is concealed from the gods) rejoicing with a serene smile; whereby such a happy breeze of the empty air came about that no discordant thing is seen by the star-bearing Heaven.

Forthwith the charioteers followed their associates over the heights of Idalium, and they guided the swift swans by their law, and they
265 halted the honored Chariot on the height. / The Heights resonated on all sides with the mellifluous song, and they were heard from afar resounding with the sounds of Trumpets.

And now they were approaching the gates, now they were reaching
270 the first thresholds of the sacred groves and of the green fields. / Here at hand was the most gracious caretaker, with gentle countenance, who was about to let in the crowd through the open bronze portals.

Here were at hand the whole number both of the Dryads in a long line and of the Hamadryads in turn, and the easy-going Nymphs of the dells.

Here also werè the mountain Nymphs, Pitho who is called the
275 persuader, / Callirhoe, Admete, and Clymene, and young Neaera mother of Lampetia, and best mother of Phaethusa; they who, when eloquent Ulysses was crossing the Sicilian land, tended the numerous herds of Phoebus. And Polydora who gives many things, and Moist

- Concordes animis tandem delubra deorum
 245 Constituunt petere: et sanctis venerarier hymnis:
 Ire Sacerdotes circum sua tempora comptos
 Fronde sacra: et sacris vittis: simulachra ferentes.
 ¶ Precipue effigiem Veneris: cui maxima collo Venus
 Pendet Barba: comaeque nitent: cultusque virilis: Barbata
 250 Caetera faemineum pars monstrat pectore Sexum. apud Cy-
 Relligio antiqua est: Prisca est sapientia, nullo prios.
 Differre interse superos discrimine sexus.
 ¶ Accelerant igitur: pueri innuptaeque puellae
 Praecedunt: Matres vario sermone sequuntur. Populi de-
 255 Pone Sacerdotes: medio sed in ordine quorum precatio.
 Sancta Deae facies multo portatur honore.
 Inde patres: populusque omnis: sed cuique capillos
 Mirtea sarta tegunt: cantusque ad sidera tollunt.
 Excepit tot vota hominum Venus aurea (nam quid
 260 Occultum est superis) risu letata sereno:
 Quo facta est vacui tam foelix aeris aura
 Ut nihil astrifero videatur ab Ethere discors.
 ¶ Extemplo aurigae socios super alta sequuntur
 Idalii: volucresque suo moderantur olores
 265 Iure: et honoratos sistunt in vertice Currus.
 Undique mellifluo resonare Cacumina cantu
 Atque audita procul sonitu reboare Tubarum.
 ¶ Iamque propinquabant portis: iam prima tenebant
 Limina sacrati nemoris campique virentis.
 270 Hic aderat custos placido gratissimus ore Custos
 Aeratis foribus turbam immissurus apertis. Idalii.
 ¶ Hic aderat longa serie Dryadumque vicissimque
 Omnis Amadryadum numerus: facilesque Napeae.
 ¶ Hic etiam Oreades: Pitho quae suada vocatur: Nomina
 275 Calliroe, Admete, Clymeneque, recensque Neaera Oreades.
 Lampetiae mater, Phetusaque optima mater:
 Quae, dum transiret siculam facundus Ulixes
 Tellurem, Phaebi numerosa armenta tenebant.
 Multaque concedens Polydora, atque Uda Dione
 280 Ab Iove quae Venerem caelo peperisse triumphat:

280 Dione / who exults to have given birth from the sky to Venus by
 Jupiter, rapid Pasithoe, Plyto, stony Petraea, then health-giving Acaste,
 robust Menesto, Eurinome, Tyche, Amphiro, then shady Calypso, and
 the countless ones girt about the temples with myrtle were at hand. /

285 You might even see the Aegipanes in attendance with the beard and
 feet of goats, and you might see the two-horned Satyrs, and the Fauns,
 Pans, and the Hairy Sylvan deities. All therefore advance, and they are
 borne into the green fields, and without order now here, now there,
 290 each rouses his own dance; / they frolic throughout the pleasant trees.

Here the slanting horns raise their sounds over the heavens, then the
 trumpets imitate the sacred swans with sweet song, there the Satyrs and
 Fauns bring forth in turn their reeds, the reed of Pan gives various
 295 voices, / the reed which is believed to have moved the mountains of
 Arcadia.

The Chariot, radiant with the sublime goddess, enters. And in the
 middle of the wood the Cyprian goddess is set down with a gentle glide;
 the presence of Spring is always in attendance upon her. They having
 300 formed a line set down their green Myrtles for her / with joy, and the
 doves fly over the broad meadows with cheerfully beating wings, and
 they sing forth that the great mother has come. Yet now Venus is about
 to descend from her high Chariot; her followers gather around, and
 often they submit their shoulders, whereby mother Venus more nimbly
 305 lets herself down into their midst. / The Charioteers release the golden
 chains from the Swans; these moreover rend the air with their extended
 wings and were eager for the sweet blade of grass for feeding.

Meanwhile the powerful Queen grants to each that there might be
 full power to indulge his unfettered inclination (as it is pleasing to him).
 310 / There was no delay, for each runs into the shady grove, either to
 partake in the rhythmic games or the dances.

That most placid Venus herself however, having received her in a
 lengthy retreat, addresses Spring with private speech: "The cause is
 315 known to you why we are abandoning / the highest citadels and the
 immense palaces of radiant Olympus in the sky, why we approach
 closer to this poor earth; and you are the author, and with your

- Velox Pasithoe: Plyto: lapidosa petraea:
 Inde salutifera Acaste: Robusta Menesto:
 Eurinome: Tyche: Amphiro: inde umbrosa calypso:
 Innumeraeque aderant praecinctae tempora myrtho.
- 285 ¶ Aegypanes etiam barba pedibusque caprinis Aegypa-
 Astantes videas: videas Satyrosque bicornes: nes.
 Et Faunos, Panes, et Silvanos Hirsutos.
 Ergo omnes subeunt: viridesque feruntur in agros:
 Et sine lege modo huc, saltus modo concitat illuc
- 290 Quisque suos: passim per amoena Arbusta iocantur.
 Hinc obliqua sonos super aethera cornua tollunt:
 Inde tube dulci sacros imitantur olores
 Carmine: at hinc Satyri calamos Faunique vicissim
 Expediunt: varias Panos dat fistula voces,
- 295 Fistula quae Archadie tetigisse est credita montes.
 ¶ Ingreditur radians sublimi numine Currus. Venus
 Et medio nemoris leni dea Cypria lapsu Idalium in-
 Ponitur: huic astat semper praesentia Veris. greditur.
 Olli destituunt virides facto agmine Mirtos
- 300 Laetitia, plausuque hilari super ampla columbe
 Prata volant: magnamque sonant venisse parentem.
 At Venus ex altis iam descensura Quadrigis:
 Se circum sociae glomerant: humerosque frequenter
 Subiiciunt: levior quo se Venus alma recondit.
- 305 Aurea dissoluunt Aurige vincula Cignis:
 Illi autem extensis discidunt aera pennis
 Et dulcem optarunt pascendo graminis herbam.
 ¶ Interea Regina potens dat cuique potestas Veneris
 Plena sit (ut volupe est) genio indulgere soluto. licentia.
- 310 Nec mora: nam quisque arboreas concurrat in umbras:
 Sive iocos, numerosque aut exercere choreas.
 ¶ Ipsa autem accepto secum placidissima Vere Venus
 Longum in secessum tacito sermone profatur: ver alloqui-
 Nota tibi causa est quare radiantis Olympi tur.
- 315 Et summas arces immensa palatia caelo
 Deserimus: quare miserum adventamus in orbem:
 Et tu autor, votisque tuis, praecibusque frequenter

offerings, and often with your prayers, you solicit Venus, you lead Venus down from the stars, and also with such great ceremony, the
 320 pious gifts / have been offered, the incenses and sacred fires among the Roman women of our blood (nor does forgetfulness touch us). Therefore this is that day on which most beautiful grace must be granted to
 325 things and license to human wishes; know therefore what our plan is; / now while our retinue has been devoted to the shady woods, and is settling into its pleasure, I desire that you go with me in silent flight into the realm of Latium, and the high Capitoline, and the magnificent palace brought about by great Julius. Therefore come, follow me from
 330 here, and accompany me through the gentle air". /

She spoke, raising herself over the heavens from the Idalian height. Now the Cyprian region having been left behind, she has the Illyrian Sea, next she skims the waves of the Tyrrhenian swell, and finally she reaches the ample mouths of the flowing Tiber, now she attains the
 335 walls of great Rome. / She hovers over the ancient citadels as she flits through them, and gladly through the towering hills, but sadly through the ruins, she sees that the many varied labors of men and of deeds have fallen: on the one side the hill to which the Reeds had given their own name, on the other side the Esquiline; on that the buried signs of
 340 the great / Quirinalis, and the deserted roofs of the Palatine, and the heights of the Aventine, and the peaks which Caelius formerly held. She could scarcely suppress the sighs from deep within her heart. And now she sees the heights of Trajan, and she sees the tall monument of the
 345 lofty Column, and the great market stalls, / and the Roman forum, and the marbles decorated with various triumphs; she sees the Amphitheater with its long porticoes. Here she gazes at the palace constructed to Snowy Peace, when the fierce Citizens laid aside civil wars. Nor far
 350 away in the long valley between the Tarpeian rock and the high / Palatine she sees that only three columns survived, by which there had likewise stood ten; and the equestrian Caesarean statue, and thrown under his feet the Egeus, of which Germany has to bear the glassy waters. Nor is it far from this that the temple at the foot of the Palatine

- Sollicitas Venerem: Venerem deducis ab astris:
 Atque oblata etiam tanto pia munera cultu
 320 Thura ignesque sacri (neque nos oblivia tentant)
 Inter Romanas nostro de sanguine matres.
 Haec ergo illa dies in qua pulcherrima rebus
 Gratia et humanis est danda licentia votis:
 Tu cognosce igitur quae sit sententia nobis:
 325 Nunc ubi nostra cohors umbrosis dedita silvis:
 Et genio incumbit: tacito mecum ire volatu
 Te cupio in Latii regnum, Capitoliaque alta,
 Maximaque a magno deducta palatia Iulo.
 Ergo age me sequere hinc: placidumque per aera serva.
 330 ¶ Dixit, ab Idalio sese super aethera tollens
 Culmine. iam Illyricum Cypri regione relictā
 Aequis habet: iam iam Tyrrheni gurgitis undas
 Transilit: et tandem Tiberini ampla ora fluentis
 Consequitur: magnaeque tenet iam maenia Romae.
 335 Illa per antiquas volitans supereminet arces:
 Laetaque turriferos montes, sed maestā ruinā:
 Tam varios cecidisse operumque hominumque labores
 Conspicit: hinc collem cui Vimina nomen ab ipsis
 Indiderant: hinc Exquilias: inde obruta magni
 340 Signa Quirinalis: desertaque tecta Palati:
 Summaque Aventini, et quae habuit iuga Caelius olim.
 Vix potuit praemere ex alto suspiria corde.
 Et nunc Traiani fastigia: et alta Columnae
 Aeriae monumenta videt: magnasque tabernas:
 345 Romanumque forum: et variis decorata triumphis
 Marmora: porticibus longis videt Amphitheatrum.
 Conspicit hic Niveae constructa palatia Paci:
 Ut posuere feri civilia bella Quirites.
 Nec procul in longa Tarpeii collis et alti
 350 Valle Palatini tantum superesse columnas
 Tres, quibus astiterant pariter bis quinque, et equestre
 Caesareum signum: et pedibus subiectus Egenus
 Cuius habet vitreos Germania ferre liquores.
 Nec longe hinc steterat templum in radice Palati:
- Venus in
 latium.
 Collis vi-
 minalis.
 Collis ex-
 quilinus.
 Collis qui-
 rinalis.
 Collis Pa-
 latinus.
 Collis aven-
 tinus.
 Collis cae-
 lius.
 Ruinae tra-
 iani.
 Magnae ta-
 bernae.
 Forum Ro-
 manum.
 Amphi-
 theatrum.
 Templum
 pacis.
 Collis tar-
 peius.
 Tres colum-
 nae quae
 supersunt.
 Egenus
 fluvius.

355 had stood, / the temple built formerly for the ruler of the gods, in order
 that the camp of Mars might stand with the Sabines opposed. On that
 side the two Januses, and the ramparts against the Clouds receiving
 goods brought from the whole world. And the region of the Velabrum
 360 lay open, where the curved skiff / that was going to carry Romulus and
 Remus to the Aventine cut through the swamp. Finally to the spectacles
 of the long Circus (which slopes enclose on all sides) venerable Venus
 brought herself. Nor was there long delay; then flashing with sudden
 brilliance she took her stand in the midst of the women, who were
 365 bathing their nude / bodies, a short time before given to Fortuna
 Virilis. Straightway they stood astonished, and in fear they tore at their
 hair, and to the highest thrones they poured forth a clamor. But the
 Priestess, powerful and revered in age, recognized the coming of Venus
 370 to that place, and the favoring aspect / of such a Goddess; she therefore
 orders all that they should set aside worrisome cares for her, and that
 they should compose their spirits. Then Venus briefly says this with
 peaceful speech:

“What is this dread, matrons, and children of the Trojan stock? I
 375 attend, roused from Heaven by your troubled prayers; / this is your
 religion, covered by no garment, as religion is among the Greeks, for
 whom vain hearts and faith are typical, for whom it is typical to
 deceive. But the religion which the Trojan Youth carried into Latium,
 is the religion of the upper gods, and of powerful Vesta. This is your
 380 piety well cultivated by true dread. / I relinquish the sky and the stars
 because of this your piety, so that I may make a beginning for
 prosperous things, so that I may make the year proceed happily for great
 Rome. Wish for this day for yourselves, so that one and the same day
 in the whole year may be at hand; we grant perpetually the happy year
 385 / to you under Sunny climes, so that the lands open up, and that all the
 seas be open to Rome, and that the Roman people thrive, and the
 Roman fathers. Let however this one among you who rejoices to tower
 390 with her honored neck over the crowd, her red hair flowing, / let her
 attest to our coming, let her attest that the mother of the Loves has

- 355 Templum erectum olim pro regnatore deorum,
 Starent adversis ut Martia castra Sabinis.
 Inde duos Ianos: et propugnacula Nimbis
 Ex toto advectas orbe accipientia merces.
 Velabrique locus patuit, quo curua paludem
- 360 Cimba in Aventinum secuit vectura Quirinos.
 Et tandem in longi (quem colles undique claudunt)
 Applicuit veneranda Venus spectacula Circi.
 Nec mora longa fuit: subito fulgore coruscans
 Astitit in medio matrum: que nuda lavabant
- 365 Corpora fortunae nuper commissa Virili.
 Illicet attonitae steterunt: crinesque timendo
 Scindere: et ad superas clamorem effundere sedes.
 Verum aetate potens, Venerisque verenda Sacerdos
 Agnovit venientem illuc: tantique faventem
- 370 Numinis aspectum: haec igitur iubet omnibus olli
 Sollicitas ponant curas: animumque resumant.
 Tunc Venus haec breviter placido sermone profatur.
 ¶ Quis timor hic matres Troianae pignora gentis?
 Adsum ego sollicitis de Caelo concita votis:
- 375 Vestra est relligio haec: nullo velamine tecta:
 Qualis apud Danaos: quis pectora vana, fidesque
 Fallere quis proprium est. sed quam Troiana Iuventus
 Detulit in latium, superum, Vestaeque potentis.
 Vestra est hec pietas vero bene culta timore.
- 380 Hac vestra pietate polos et sidera linquo:
 Principium ut faciam rebus faelicibus: annum
 Foelicem ut faciam magnae procedere Romae.
 Hanc vobis optate diem: totius ut anni
 Una dies eademque adsit: concedimus annum
- 385 Perpetuo vobis sub Aprico tempore laetum:
 Ut pateant terrae: pateant maria omnia Romae
 Romanus vigeat populus: patresque Quirini.
 Quae tamen inter vos collo superare catervam
 Gaudet honorato rutilos diffusa capillos:
- 390 Hec nostrum adventum, hec matrem testetur Amorum
 De supero venisse polo: quae praebeat orbi

Templum
Iovis sta-
toris.
Duo Iani.
Velabri
locus.

Circus lon-
gus.

come down from the high heavens, to supply to the world eternal temperance and the serene light of heaven; therefore I bid you that these always be your duties, both piety and love, renown, and the
 395 Brightness of youth, / beautiful Julia, ready to move the spirits of the Gods". She finished speaking, and with a light flight, she lifted herself from that spot.

They however broke the silence with great applause. And they eagerly took up the granted omen and office. Julia is encircled with
 400 sweet smelling garlands then. / They struggle to join their right hands to her tender right hand. Then the Priestess herself, with her own hand escorted that one ornamented more precious than all the crowd, with her eyes cast down, into the temple with a long procession. Suddenly
 405 Julia invites every possible guest into the high / halls, in order that they may calm their spirits and appearance. A part left, some sat down in the gilded hall; then for the banquets, then for the trembling dances, they readied themselves.

BOOK FIVE

As far as the outermost circle, which joins the earth to airy Olympus, was seen throughout the world, open on this side and that; in every direction there was serene weather and the glowing lights from the
 5 Warm sun. /

Then the Animals, eager to renew their rightful tasks, and ready for their offices, undertook them. Then the shepherd took care to join the plows to the bullocks and to plow the hard earth with the ravening plowshare. Then the common people, ever Destitute of things, tended
 10 the gifts of golden Ceres and of father Bacchus, / the crop in the fields, the elms joined to the vinestalks on the hills. Yet the greatest pleasure kept the Patricians occupied, to pursue into the woods the terrible
 15 Boars with javelins, and to release the dogs against the swift Stags. / But others, to whom the high charge is given to rule the houses, and the sacred Senate, so that the Republic may thrive safe by its law, and so

- Temperiem caeli aeternam, lucemque serenam:
 Propterea hec tibi sint iubeo tua munera semper:
 Et pietas, et amor, nomen, Fulgorque iuventae
 395 Iulia prompta animos formosa movere Deorum.
 Dixerat: et laeto se proripit inde volatu.
 ¶ Ille autem multo rupere silentia plausu.
 Excipiuntque alacres concessum munus et omen.
 Iulia odoriferis praecingitur inde corollis.
 400 Cui tenerae dextram certant coniungere dextrae.
 Quam deinceps turba ornatam preciosius omni
 Ipsa manu propria demissam lumina terrae
 Cum longo incessu praefert ad tecta Sacerdos.
 Iulia convivam subito quancunque sub altis
 405 Aedibus invitat, quo animos cum fronte serenent.
 Pars abiit: pars aurata consedit in aula:
 Dein dapibus: tremulis dein se accinxere choreis.

Laus iu-
liae.

LIBER QUINTUS.

- Quantum erat extremus toto patefactus in orbe
 Circulus, Aerio qui terram iungit Olympo
 Hinc atque inde patens: ex omni parte serenus
 Aer, et Aprico fulgentia lumina sole.
 5 ¶ Tunc renovare sibi proprios studiosa labores
 Atque magisteriis Animalia prompta subibant.
 Iungere tunc pastor curabat aratra iuven-
 Et rapido duram proscindere vomere terram.
 Munera tunc flavae Cereris, patrisque Lyei,
 10 In campis segetem curare, in collibus ulmos
 Vitibus annexas plebs rerum semper Egena.
 Plurima Patricios tamen exercere voluptas:
 In nemora horrendos telo sectarier Apros:
 Atque sua in Cervos canibus dare iura fugaces.
 15 Verum alii, quibus alta domos, sanctumque Senatum
 Cura datur regere ut vigeat Respublica iure
 Tuta suo: pateantque viris sua premia iustis

Horizon-
tis descri-
ptio.
Varia ho-
minum offi-
cia.
Rustici re-
bus rusti-
cis intenti.

Nobiles
viri vena-
tionem exer-
cent.
Viri boni
curant rem

that their rewards may be available to just men and punishments to evil, whereby they may raise themselves above charge; each as it is
 20 agreeable to his spirit, places either gardens under fountains, / or
 sumptuous villas by the cool streams, and the country estates that are
 the greatest consolations for the toil of the people.

But among them all Agostino is worthy of the first honor, and to
 25 whom indeed the first honors are bestowed, whom the Chigi family sent
 from noble Siena into / the Roman air, whom Rome invites to go to the
 highest magistracies, whom Astraea tucks away on her bright star to
 30 ascend the difficult mountains of virtue. He himself, as he labors with a
 great amount of care, and troubled, acts day and night for the people, /
 so he places a villa, which may sometimes offer joys when cares have
 been cast aside, in the liquid stream of the Tiber and on the neighboring
 35 shore of the Vatican Hill, where he felt the desired sun in the air, and
 the new summer and the stars distilling dews. /

Nevertheless he did not establish this as the solaces of a soft life, nor
 as a place which might furnish the material for illicit love; but if any
 day is granted that has managed various labors, and being gone, frees
 40 him from attending the Senate, here he, the best, sits among the well
 cultivated faces of men, / setting out both the frugal feasts and the
 thrifty cups, the joy of Bacchus, swimming in pure gold.

Here however no licentiousness can go astray to Ceres or Bacchus;
 45 here the Theater shows no obscenities. But if any play is recited in the
 silent Crowd / its viewpoint brings easy applause for its morals.

But the fathers rather rise up for learned contests; on the one side
 some hold the leisures of the Epicurean sect, and do not allow that
 human labors worry the mind of Jupiter. On the other side many

- Suppliciumque malis, quo sese a crimine tollant,
 Quisque sibi, ut volupe est animo, aut sub fontibus hortos
 20 Ponunt: vel gelida ornatas ad flumina villas:
 Ruraque pro populi solamina summa labore.
- ¶ Verum inter cunctos primo Augustinus honore
 Dignus, cuique etiam primi praestantur honores:
 Chigia nobilibus quem misit in aera Saenis
 25 Romanum soboles: quem Roma invitat in altos
 Ire magistratus: quem claro Astrea recondit
 Sidere virtutis rigidos conscendere montes.
 Ipse sibi, ut magna curarum mole laborat
 Et populo vexatus agit noctesque diesque,
 30 Sic quae depositis interdum gaudia curis
 Praebeat in liquido Tiberini flumine villam
 Et Vaticani vicino in littore Collis
 Collocat: optatos ubi sensit in aere soles:
 Aestatemque novam: rorantiaque astra liquores.
- ¶ Non tamen hanc posuit mollis solatia vitae:
 Nec quae materiam infando praeberet amori:
 Verum si qua dies varios moderata labores
 Ulla datur: tollitque aditum concessa Senatus:
 Hic inter bene culta virum sedet optimus ora:
 40 Frugalesque dapes: frugalia pocula: Bacchi
 Laetitiam apponens, puroque natantis in auro.
- ¶ Hic tamen ad Cererem, Bacchumve, libidinis error
 Nullus adest: nulla hic obscaena Theatra recludunt.
 Sed si qua in tacito recitatur fabula Coetu
 45 Exigit ad mores facilem sententia plausum.
- ¶ At potius surgunt docta in certamina patres:
 Hinc Epicureae quisquam tenet ocia sectae:
 Nec vult humanos animo Iovis esse labores.
 Illinc Socraticae multi documenta tuentur
- publicam.
 Viri boni vil-
 las
 sibi ponunt
 pro ocio.
 Augustini
 chigii
 nobilitas.
 Villa augus-
 tini
 chigii vicina
 colli
 vaticano
 coniuncta
 Tiberi.
 Mollis vita
 viro bono
 non convenit.
- Viris bonis
 inter curas
 publicas licet
 interdum
 ociari.
- Convivia non
 pro compota-
 tione sed
 pro animo-
 rum
 coniunc-
 tione.
 Disputatio
 inter bonos
 crebra est.

50 present the documents of Socratic / severity, and they affirm that a God who is both mindful of evil, and a lover of true virtue, rules the world, but excessively harsh punishments he imparts to mortals, and he quells all crimes with one law.

55 But Agostino himself presides at such conflicts of honor, / and he announces that God rules all with alternate movement, and distinguishes punishments among the guilty.

Meanwhile the Clouds are reddening through the air. Venus and the presence of blooming Spring raised themselves up quickly. And now
60 they were leaving behind the spectacles of the long Circus, / and they were passing over the highest peaks of the Aventine, where he saw the Twelve Birds, by the auspices of which Remus himself was to yield to Quirinus the establishing of the beginnings of Rome. And now they discern the vestiges of the Naval Battle Place, and [the bridge] formerly the Pile bridge [Sublician], and afterwards called the Aemilian
65 bridge*, / where, oh Cocles, only your right hand prevailed against Etruria. And while they were flying in the great region beyond the Tiber she said, "Oh happy region, glory of the Roman name, while the Romans were subduing Velitrae, and transferred hither the Colonists,
70 mindful of the deed". / But finally they turn toward the Vatican fields, in which armed Porsena fixed the Etruscan troops, and he pressed Rome with heavy siege; here where, oh Scaeva, your right hand made a name for you the Roman, since it was the less apt in duty on behalf of
75 the liberty of your people, / because it didn't send the King into Hell, and thus it was willingly committed to the fiery flame.

Scarcely now were they passing over the walls of the Septimian Gate, when Venus saw the walls and the towers rising by the great efforts of
80 the craftsmen, heaped up to the Stars. / Now she halted, suspended on her Shimmering Cloud, "Well is it fitting," (thus she began with peaceful heart), "that humans raise their wondrous hands over and above the preserved laws of justice and of beauty, and confirm the power of the fatherland with columns, and their high palaces with
85 golden roofs. / How my Chigi raises up the Airy fortresses, how, pleasing to the People, and to the fatherland, he raises the work that

* The Sublician and Aemilian bridges were not the same, but Aegidius followed P. Letus, *De antiquitatibus urbis Romae*, in this mistake.

- 50 Saevitiae: affirmantque Deum moderarier orbem:
Et memorem scelorum: et verae virtutis amantem:
Sed nimium rigidas mortalibus addere paenas:
Et quaecunque una contundere crimina lege.
¶ Ipse sed in tanto sedet Augustinus honoris
- 55 Conflictu: alternoque Deum regere omnia motu
Asserit: et paenas inter distinguere sotes
¶ Ocius interea rutilante per aera Nimbo
Se tollunt Venus, et nitidi praesentia Veris.
Iamque relinquebant longi spectacula Circi
- 60 Summaque Aventini superabant culmina: vidit
Bis Senas ubi Aves: quarum Remus ipse Quirino
Cederet auspiciis ponenda exordia Romae.
Et iam Naumachiae cernunt vestigia: et olim
Sublicium: post Aemilii de nomine pontem,
- 65 Sola ubi in Etruriam valuit tua dextera Cocles.
Ac dum ultra Tyberim in magna regione volarent:
O foelix regio Romani nominis inquit
Gloria, Romani dum compressere velitras:
Et facti memores huc mutavere Colonos.
- 70 At vaticanos tandem vertuntur in agros:
In quibus Etruscas armatus Porsena turmas
Constituit: Romamque gravi obsidione premebat:
Hic ubi Scaeva tibi Romano dextera nomen
Fecit: in officio pro libertate tuorum
- 75 Quod minus apta fuit: nec verum in Tartara Regem
Miserit: ardentique ultro sic tradita flammae.
¶ Vix iam Septimiae superabant moenia Portae:
Quom Venus artificum magno certamine muros
Vidit et extructas ad Sidera surgere turres.
- 80 Continuit sese Nimbo suspensa Corusco.
Hem decet humanos (placido sic pectore caepit)
Ultra iustitiae servataque iura decori
Magnificas efferre manus: Patriamque columnis,
Altaque deauratis fundare palatia tectis.
- 85 Ut meus Aerias extollit Chigius arces,
Ut Populo, ut patriae gratus memorabile in aevum
- Epicuri de deo.
Stoici de deo.
Augustinus achademicus de deo.
Venus cum Vere ex circo.
Aventinus collis.
Naumachia.
Pons sublicius ubi Horatius cocles etc.
Regio transtyberina olim colonia veliter-norum.
Porsena in colle vaticano olim etc.
Scaevola quare.
Porta Septimia.
Venus magnificentiam laudat.

will be famous forever, and by these deeds he commends his name to the Heavens!" Thus she spoke, and she descends into the gardens from the clear air, admiring the eternal work, and even the stones decorated
 90 with superb / craft, and precious under their tawny gold.

Before the great forecourt, the very celebrated way [paved] with stones leads up to the Vatican hill; where Julius renews the fortresses and the temple with formerly unheard of vaulting. Behind, where the
 95 access is open, and the superb threshold / of the great entrance is at hand, immediately spacious atria are seen, which ornamented seats surround on all sides. Here even the Stage is ready, the Theaters having just been established, whether the play to be put on be comic or Tragic.
 100 In the middle, the house is built famous / for its lofty walls and roofs, of which house the curved Vault with hanging stars covers everywhere the central Hall. Round about there are gilded [statues of (?)] eminent ones; and round about under the barbarian gold are Chambers, fit for a Roman prince. But the house shines with twin porticoes (such as are
 105 not had in all the world, / nor are they thought possible to be made by the genius of men). And the one of these is opposite the east, and it invites the morning sun; the other, which is opposed to the blowing
 110 winds of Boreas, long haired Apollo protects from rapid heat. / But the art of painting decorates both with various figures, such as Rome never had, or great Mycenae. And these would like to have their own Poems in resounding verse. Meanwhile she [Venus] is pleased again and again to climb the upper stories by the high winding-stairs and their marble
 115 steps; / thence frequently again to descend into the deepest bowels of the earth, where here and there under the gleaming vault the many [cellars] lie, preserving the fine breezes against the [summer] heat; cool waters would be enclosed by these, in these the best but potent wines of
 120 Bacchus would set aside their heats. /

Nor did mother Venus enjoy less circling the fields, seeing the vineyards varied in the middle of their stalks, and in other places the

- Tollit opus: factisque suum dat in Ethera nomen.
 Sic ait: et claro descendit ab aere in hortos,
 Admirans opus aeternum: et decorata superbo
 90 Saxa etiam cultu: et fulvo preciosa sub auro.
 ¶ Vestibulum ante ingens, silicum celeberrima collem
 In Vaticanum via fert: ubi Iulius arces
 Templaque inauditae renovat testudinis olim.
 Post ubi progressus patet: ingentisque superbum
 95 Limen adest aditus, subito spaciosa videntur
 Atria, quae ornatae circumdant undique saedes.
 Hic etiam prompta est positis modo, Scaena Theatris,
 Fabula seu soccos, seu sit sumptura Cothurnos.
 In medio erecta est sublimibus inclita tectis
 100 Parietibusque domus: cuius tegit undique curuum
 Sideribus medias Caelum pendentibus Aulas.
 Aurati circum proceres: circumque sub auro
 Barbarico Thalami, Romano principe digni.
 Sed geminis (quales toto neque habentur in orbe,
 105 Ingeniis hominum fieri neque posse putantur)
 Porticibus fulget domus. atque harum altera in ortum
 Opposita est: solemque invitat matutinum:
 Altera quam rapido servat crinitus ab aestu
 Flatibus obiectam Boreae spirantis Apollo.
 110 Verum ambas variis ornat pictura figuris
 Quales Roma habuit nunquam magnaevae Mycaenae.
 Quaeque sua optarent resonante Poemata versu.
 Interea aerio surgentia vertice loeta est
 Scandere marmoreis gradibus tabulata frequenter:
 115 Inde frequens iterum descendere in ultima terrae
 Viscera, fulgenti quae sub testudine passim
 Multa patent tenues auras servantia in aestum:
 Quis gelidae claudantur aquae: quibus optima bacchi
 Sed temulenta suos deponant vina calores.
 120 ¶ Nec minus alma Venus gaudet circumdare campos:
 In mediis vineta videns variata racemis:
 Atque aliis virgulta locis ducentia fructus.
- Venus cum
 vere in hor-
 tos Augustini
 descendit.
 Descriptio
 aedificii in
 villa Au-
 gustini.
 Via sili-
 cea ante
 vestibulum
 Atria post
 ingressum.
 Scaena pro
 comediis
 vel tragoe-
 diis.
 Domus in
 villa.
 Geminae
 porticus.
- Descriptio
 horti.

92 fert. (et in margine) Descriptō R
 add. Rc 104 habentnr R correxī

93 Punctum in fine addidit Rc
 120 (in marg.) Descriptō R

96 Atria R; /

thickets bearing fruit. A broad way lies open in the middle, which
 [broad way] emerges from the bed of the Tiber, and opposes the bank
 125 with the aid of a retaining wall, / softly inviting to the leisures and
 shades of the stream. Here a twin portico on both sides most beautiful
 to see and spacious with many an arch, and many columns, is erected,
 which at the setting of the burning sun invites the fathers as guests to
 130 cups and to elegant banquets. /

Here moreover they observe what is to be by remarkable verse for
 eternity, and they look over all with eager eyes; for under Jupiter runs
 the easy descent into a cave, a cave worked by art, improved with the
 help of a chisel [*or*: happier than the sky] either [it is] a grotto, or
 that which the Gods decided to be the spot among the bowels of the
 135 Earth, / where they could occasionally set aside their weighty cares on
 coming from the pure ether. Within are sweet waters, which the wall
 itself receives from the Tiber by way of the double window, and it
 preserves those received. Within the long contests of the varied fish are
 140 seen. / They, wondering whether the Nymphs flock together with
 tremulous leap, straightway hide themselves in the first mouth of the
 pond. Within are the seats pleasing to the Gods, more pleasing to the
 Nymphs in which they enjoy residing with busy song. Here even an
 145 ample vent is placed in the height of the vault, / through which
 Favonius may add his tranquil winds, so that at the same time he may
 mix the breezes with the pure air. Here within perpetually the suavest
 distinctions of voice of Phoebus and the nine Muses resonate among
 150 themselves. Here within is the gathering of the poets, wither / the poets
 come together to practice sacred poetry with varied verse.

She stopped, and delayed her companion with a long discourse.
 "From the time when we both left the Pamphilian shores and we saw
 the shores of the Illyrian gulf rippling in their flood, and the Tyrrhenian
 155 sea, and the Etruscan citadels, / and the many gardens of Naples
 cultivated in the fields by the long care of men, and we came into the
 Roman air; pray, what Villa, what field, which shores, what vale, and

- In medio via lata patet: quae Tybridis alveo
 Eminent: atque obstanti opponit pariete ripam,
 125 Dulciter invitans ad fluminis ocia et umbras.
 Hic gemina utrinque erigitur pulcherrima visu
 Et multo spaciosa arcu: multisque columnis
 Porticus: in lapsu rabidi quae ad pocula solis
 Lautaque convivas agitet convivia patres.
 130 ¶ Hic tamen aeterno quod sit memorabile versu
 Conspiciunt: avidoque haec omnia lumine lustrant:
 Sub Iove nam occurrit facilis descensus in antrum,
 Arte laboratum, Caelo faelicius antrum:
 Aut antrum, aut intra Telluris viscera quem Dii
 135 Esse locum voluere, graves ubi ponere curas
 Interdum ex liquido venientes aethere possent.
 Intus aquae dulces: duplici quas ipse fenestra
 Ex Tyberi paries recipit, servatque receptas.
 Intus longa patent varii certamina piscis:
 140 Qui dubitans tremulo saltu concurrere Nymphas
 Protinus in primo se gurgitis occulit ore.
 Intus grata Deis: mage grata sedilia Nymphis
 In quibus assiduo gaudent consistere cantu.
 Ponitur hic etiam in summo testudinis amplum
 145 Spiramen: per quod tranquilla Favonius addat
 Flamina: cum puro simul aere misceat auras.
 Perpetuo hic intus resonant suavissima Phaebi
 Musarumque novem inter se discrimina vocis.
 Concilium hic intus vatum: quo sancta Poetae
 150 Conveniunt vario tractare Poemata versu.
 ¶ Constitit: et comitem largo sermone moratur.
 Ex quo Pamphiliis ambo discessimus oris,
 Illiricique sinus undantia littora fluctu,
 Et mare Thyrraenum, atque Etruscas vidimus arces,
 155 Multaque Parthenopes longo viridaria in agris
 Culta hominum studio: Romanum et in aera ventum est:
 Quenam Villa tibi? quis ager? quae littora? quenam
 Vallis, et Aprico faecundus tempore Collis?
- Gemina
 porticus
 supra Ty-
 brim
 De antro
 testudineo
 ac subterra-
 neo iuxta
 Tybrim.
- In antro
 aquae dul-
 ces.
 In antro
 varii pi-
 sces.
 In antro
 sedilia.
 Spiraculum
 in summita-
 te testudi-
 nis.
 Favonius
 Antrum
 aptum poe-
 tis.
 Verba Ve-
 neris ad
 ver. in lau-
 dem huius
 villae

131 lustrat R *correx*
scripsisse videtur Hetruscas

135 volvere R
 156 est. R

146 auras R

154 Etruscas R; *poeta*

fertile Hill in the Sunny weather, or what plain surrounded by a pure
 160 spring / (which nature made) or abounding with a great river, seemed
 to you could have been placed anywhere with a better gulf, with a
 better husbandman, either by the talents of men, or by the ray of the
 one who is powerful in all the ranks of the stars? Therefore let the one
 165 judgment which is fixed in my mind, / be the same for you. For as my
 solicitous Powers settle upon this roof, as the illustrious Chigi race
 shines bright with our favor, just as we take care now to extol Agostino
 to high and deserved honors, so you will establish here your eternal seat
 170 in fair weather, / so also you will ornament these gardens with
 delightful flowers, with pale violets, and with the Hyacinth, and then
 with roses, and with the Hylas*, and with the long Poppy, with the gift
 of fragrant Narcissus, and whatever flowers the best Earth has. Add the
 175 vines that are pleasant for men with many kinds of grapes, / and here
 and there the delicious fruits, and the Olives, the heavy weight of
 human fortune. Therefore make for yourself here the eternal seat of
 things, so that in all possible weather it may have scented Meadows and
 180 that the place may be to all the most secure reason for repose. /

Here let whoever sustains in his firm heart the changing cares of the
 Roman people and of the blessed Senate, let them have here the sweet
 solaces for their hard labor.

Here let lie open for the Fathers the long experiences of their people,
 185 who labored so often with their own blood / so that they might bear the
 fame of Rome up to the Heavens and its powers through the world; let
 the Poems that have been recited inspire the fathers for the fatherland.

Here let the youth, as they review then the great deeds of the
 ancients, either of the Kings or of the people, with the Crowd applauding
 190 at the Theater, let them raise their hearts both to deeds and to morals. /

Furthermore the Poets here, breathed on by the divine breath of the
 gods, let them bring back green Wreaths and celebrate them.

Here also let the knights take up seats and watch reclining in their
 fourteen rows. Here let the Seats of Honor be given to the Princes. And
 195 let the great Dukes and / the presence of the Pontiffs preside over
 honorable things (while they indulge their spirits).

Here let it not be shameful that the orators sit down among Applause

* For Hylas as the name of a flower see Ausonius, *Epigr.* 98 "Nymphis quae Hylam
 merserunt": Furitis, procaces Naiades, / amore saevo et irrita: / Ephebus iste flos erit.

Aut quae planities puro circumdata fonte
 160 (Quem natura facit) seu magno flumine abundans,
 Visa tibi meliore sinu, meliore colono
 Ingeniisve hominum, radiove potentis in omni
 Astrorum serie, quavis potuisse locari?
 Una igitur quae fixa mihi est sententia menti,
 165 Haec eadem tibi sit. Namque ut mea Numina tectis
 Sollicita insidunt: ut nostro Chigia proles
 Clara favore micat: veluti curamus in altos
 Nunc Augustinum meritosque extollere honores:
 Sic tu perpetuam sub aperto tempore sedem
 170 Hic statues tibi: sic etiam hos florentibus agros
 Daeliciis, violis pallentibus: ac Iacyntho,
 Inde rosis, et Hyla, longoque Papavere, odori
 Munere Narcissi: et quoscunque habet optima Tellus
 Floribus ornabis. varii officiosa Lyei
 175 Vina viris adiunge: et delectantia passim
 Poma: vel humanae pondus grave sortis Olivas.
 Hic ergo aeternam rerum tibi confice sedem:
 Ut sit odoratis quocunque in tempore Pratis
 Et cuicunque locus tutissima causa quietis.
 180 ¶ Hic habeant duri solatia grata laboris
 Quicunque immoto Romani pectore curas
 Sustinet ambiguas populi sanctique Senatus.
 ¶ Hic pateant Patribus longa experimenta suorum,
 Qui totiens proprio sudarunt sanguine: Romae
 185 Ut famam Caelo efferrent, viresque per orbem:
 In patriam incendant recitata Poemata patres.
 ¶ Hic iuvenes, veterum dum grandia facta recensent,
 Et Regum aut populi Turba plaudente Theatro,
 Ad mores, ad facta simul sua pectora tollant.
 190 ¶ Praeterea hic superum divino flamine Vates
 Afflati referant, virides celebrentque Coronas.
 ¶ Hic equites etiam sedeant, spectentque reposti
 Bis septem gradibus. hic Pulvinaria dentur
 Principibus. magnisque Duces, et rebus honestis
 195 Pontificum (dum animo indulgent) praesentia praesit.
 ¶ Hic oratores inter considerare Plausus
 Non pudeat: Romanosque admirentur honores.

and let them aspire to Roman honors.

If ever that Reverence and very Majesty of the empire should come,
 200 to recognize Julius as the lord of the world, / let him here some time or
 other reflect [upon] the composed masses of things.

Moreover Julius himself who is first of Rome and in all the world, or
 from whose judgment all the rest depend, who comes, when he has
 come, sees, and when he has seen each and every dreadful thing, he has
 205 conquered it, and he enjoys the peace that he has desired. / So if ever
 he, filled with duty, with the people accompanying, should survey the
 walls and the streets of the city renovated by himself, or the triumphal
 arches, let him deign to go a little into your fields flowery and full of
 shady places. But if this will be, and Julius will deem it worthy of so
 210 great a countenance, / see to it, that the Crowd, and the fathers, surge
 forward to him as he comes, and the various flowers, and the Divinities
 of the flowers, and every tree, and the Spirits with the trees, and the
 fountains everywhere, likewise the Spirits with the glassy sources. And
 215 let the Nymphs, and Fauns, and Pans, and Satyrs receive him singing. /
 And let the Tiber surge forward with its pleasant stream.

Come, see to it here, that whoever weaves the green wreaths in the
 new spring, has all the flowers that he seeks. See to it that he may find
 whatever things bring forth buds on the vine shoot, or heavy branches
 220 on the trees if he should look for them. /

I will be here with you. Hither I will come whenever I will descend
 from the summit of Olympus. Here will be my most peaceful abode. I
 will transfer hither the comforts of our Idalian grove. Now I vow by the
 Stygian waters, now unless I would be compelled to seek the heights of
 225 Cyprus, and to go and see my abandoned throng, / never would I
 happily lift my foot from here; I would spend my only leisures of the
 days in these fields. But I will add now the final pledges which I can,
 and before this we were accustomed to few. Whatever advantages will
 rise up here by human prayer, and at whatever time, they will become
 230 most pleasing to all, / the most beautiful pleasure in nature will always
 come through me". She spoke, and she carried herself off into the
 liquid air, in order to seek out Cyprus and the Idalian woods, and the
 neglected Crowd; and in order to turn the whole month there to
 leisures.

- ¶ Si quando imperii veniat Reverentia et ipsa
Maiestas, mundi dominum cognoscere Iulum,
200 Compositos rerum hic quandoque reflectat acervos.
¶ Ipse autem Romae et toto qui primus in orbe est
Iulius, arbitrio cuius vel caetera pendent:
Qui venit: ut venit, videt: utque horrentia vidit
Quaecunque, optata vicit, fruiturque quiete.
205 Ut si unquam per se renovatae moenia et urbis
Strata, triumphales populo comitante vel arcus
Officii plenus lustret: tua florida, Opacisque
Arva repleta locis paulum dignetur adire.
Quod si erit: et tanto iulus dignabitur ore,
210 Huic, facito, assurgant venienti Turba; patresque:
Et flores varii: et florum sua Numina: et omnis
Arbor: cum arboribus sua Numina: et undique fontes:
Cum vitreis pariter sua Numina fontibus. illum
Et Nymphae, et Fauni, et Panes, Satyrique canentes
215 Excipiant. surgat fluxu Tiberinus amoeno.
¶ Hic age fac habeat, virides quicunque coronas
Nectit vere novo, flores quoscunque requirit.
Hic age ut inveniatur quaecunque in palmitibus gemmas
Parturiunt: gravidos seu querat in arbore ramos.
220 ¶ Hic ego tecum adero. huc veniam, de vertice Olympi
Descendam quotiens. erit hic placidissima sedes,
Idalii nemoris vertam huc solatia nobis.
Per stygias nunc testor aquas: nisi culmina Cypri
Nunc cogar petere, et desertam visere turbam,
225 Nunquam ego laeta pedem hinc efferrem: sola dierum
Ocia in his agerem campis. verum ultima iungam
Pignora quae possum, et paucis consuevimus antehac.
Quaecunque humanis hic surgent commoda votis,
Et quacunque die: fient gratissima cunctis:
230 Semper erit per me pulcherrima gratia rebus.
Dixit: et in liquidum se corripit aera: Cyprum
Ut petat, Idaliumque nemus, Turbamque relictam:
Utque illic totum convertat in ocia mensem.
¶ Ipsa autem placidi restat praesentia veris.
- Locus etiam
oratoribus
conveniens.
Ocia etiam
imperatorii
oportuna.
Laus Iulii
.ii. pontificis
Maximi.
- Hic etiam re-
verentia
prompta Iu-
lio. ii. pon-
tifici Maximo.
- Hic sedem
sibi Venus
optat.
- Gratia re-
bus perpe-
tua conce-
ditur.
Venus in
Cyprum re-
vertitur.
- Ver aeter-

- 235 The very presence of peaceful Spring however remained. / And she
 was preparing to put into use the given precepts of beautiful Venus;
 now she begins to turn her Eyes about the gardens. And by chance she
 observes in an equal way the labors of artisans, and the surging roofs
 240 under the highest stars. She absorbs gradually the tender suns from the
 clear air, / and prepares to add this duty to her things.

THE END

abcde

All quires consist of three leaves
 except e, which has two

Printed in Rome by Stephen Guilliretus and Hercules Nanus associates
 in the year of our lord 1511.

Gallus Egidius to Cornelius Benignus. Greetings.

Unless I saluted you equally they will say that I envied your Greatness. Nor is this surprising since we have fallen upon an age, in which almost all of us are prying, almost all Spiteful. Unless I should act with you who is benign, would I consort with those Spiteful ones? who wish to seem the only wise ones, and say it over and over: "It is more noble to be silent, than to speak badly". Well, they heed the maxim for themselves. They are silent, nor do they bring anything forth, so that they won't be blamed; wherefore it happens, that no reason appears, why they should be considered men of letters. Or would you judge them wise only because of their knitted brows, and their overweening pride? Would you really be benignant, my Cornelius Benignus, in that way? Indeed I [would act] otherwise. But what is the meaning of all this? I will tell. You know that I am the least of all, yet that I am abundantly loved by your worthy men. Many bear it with annoyance. I, in order to provide myself with the best patrons, who safeguard justice, called upon the most impartial Man Agostino Chigi, and you the most learned of men. Unless I wrote often to these, would I not be more strongly censored, than praised, if I were silent? Thus you have my opinion. This remains, that if here in this little book errors should appear to you, ascribe them, Benignus, [*or*: benignly] either to me or to the printers (just as the situation itself will require). For nothing is more praiseworthy, nothing more lovable than a benign man. Farewell and love me.

- 235 Et data formosae Veneris praecepta parabat num rema-
Exercere: suos iam volvere Lumina in hortos net.
Incipit. aequali spectat modo forte labores
Artificum: et summis surgentia tecta sub astris.
Paulatim teneros purgato ex aethere soles
240 Ebibit: officiumque suis parat addere rebus.

Finis.

abcde Omnes sunt terni
preter e qui est duernus.

¶ Impressum Romae per Stephanum guil-
lireti, et Herculem nani consocios
Anno domini .M.D.XI.

Gallus Egidius Cornelio Benigno S.P.D.

Nisi ego te pariter salutem, tuae Eminentiae dicant me invidere. Neque hoc mirum: quom in aetatem inciderimus, in qua fere omnes sumus curiosi, Malivoli omnes. Ego nisi tecum agam qui es benignus, agamne cum Malivolis? qui soli videri volunt sapientes: quique id
5 dictitant: Praestat tacere, quam male loqui. Papae: sibi ipsis cavent locum. tacent: neque quicquam aedunt, ne reprehendantur: quo fit, ut quare litterati habeantur, appareat nihil. An ex sola superciliorum contractione, atque ambizioso fastu eos iudicares sapientes? Ita ne benignus esses mi Corneli Benigne? Ego vero secus. sed quorsum haec?
10 dicam. scis omnium me minimum esse, verum me a vobis viris probis abunde amari. Id multi moleste ferunt. Ego ut mihi comparem patronos optimos, qui aequitatem tueantur, Augustinum Chigium Virum integerrimum, ac te doctissimum hominem mihi invocavi.

Ad quos nisi frequenter scriberem, nonne fortius reprehenderer,
15 quam laudarer, si tacerem? Habes igitur animum meum. Illud superest:
quod si qui per hunc libellum errores tibi occurrerint, eos vel mihi vel
impressoribus (prout res ipsa postulabit) benigne asscribas. benigno
enim homine nihil est laudabilius, amabilius nihil. Vale et me ama.

PRIMVS

III

GALLIEGIDI ROM: POETAE LAV
REATI VIRIDARII AVGVSTI/
NICHIGII PATRICII SENEN.
VERAE LITER PRIMVS



Vm uariis hominum mens fertur in
ardua curis:

Sollicitatue animos Patriæ seruare
quietem*

Iure fatigatos optat cōponere sensus

Vere nouos: subeunt solem: uel opaca sub umbris.

Quantum habeant ueris: Quid polliceantur Aprici

Temporis: hic igitur referam: & solatia quæ sint

Hic ubi molitur Viridaria Chigius Heros.

Tu tamen alma Venus: roscio quæ In uere serenos

Sola dies pandis: Vati quoq; pande furorem:

Vt tua securo Celebrentur tempora Cantu:

In quibus illa locis: Quæ in regione referues.

¶ Qui sacra Romane dederat primordia genti

Iam sua Romuleo Primus compleuerat Anno

Tempora Bellipotens: extendere iam sua Taurum

Cornua: & oprato producere uere decebat

Serta: & odoriferas uiridanti flore Corollas:

Ecce tenebroso fulgens Aurora sub Axe

Enixa est aperire diem: iamq; undiq; Cœlo

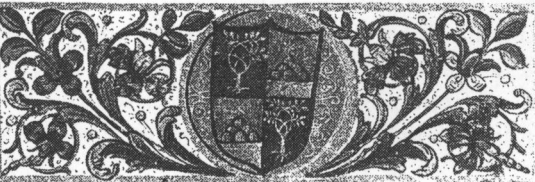
Fosphorus inter tot placidissima Sydera nobis

Gratus: Apollineis radiis ueniebat aperto

Præuius: & caros Titā dimittere soles

(Quos antehac Nimboſa dies: Cœliq; Tenebræ:

a iii



LIBER

Iudicio: & rerum causa creduntur aquai.
 Huc ergo in mediâ thalamis descenditur aulam:
 Huc se Nereidû uix nota caterua tumultu
 fert: Diuinis hic certauere uicissim
 Versibus, atq; hylarem Nerei lucere cohortem.
 Hic claram redoluit lucem laquearia centum
 Lampadibus; fulgentq; æterno lumine lichni.
 Descendere sali Rectorq; & maxima Thetis:
 Et medio præbent præsentia numina cætu.

LIBER QVARTVS.

Lra sub æquoreis latitabat Fama pcellis
 Horrédâ metués hyemé: Casulq; minasq;
 Aequoris: & cæli superatû nubibus Axem.

Fama etiâ
 in mari

Illius humanos referebant ora decores
 Virgineûq; iubar: uiridesq; in uertice crines:
 Ornatos oculis: qualem Iunonia caudam
 Fert auis: & gaudet stellatum extendere in orbem.
 Illa cubans medio dum se resupinat aquarû/
 Supponit sublime caput: qua sub iuga iungit
 Purpureo Titanis equos Aurora sub ortu.
 Et tamen occiduis nihil est quod nesciat oris:
 Aut ubi sub gelida scythiâ niue frigora torquent.
 Illa igitur magnû Veneris super æquora fastum
 Sensit & ex ima pelagi concurrere sede
 Neptûnum Oceani Regem & socia agmina Regis:
 Nulla mora est: geminas manus utraq; corripit alto
 Ore tubas solido Delphini: c/ pectore tactas.
 Lingua in utranq; uolat: per aperta foramina sufflat
 Ingentem sonitû: qualis per nubila nunquam

David CARLSON

JOHN SKELTON AND ANCIENT AUTHORS: TWO NOTES

I. Further Quotations from Latin Poetry

The list of John Skelton's quotations from the Latin classics compiled by F. M. Salter and H. L. R. Edwards, from their own researches and those of their predecessors, can be greatly extended, as they themselves recognized¹, even beyond the few further quotations adumbrated here. But the examples discussed below do tend to belie their opinion that Skelton was "of the advance guard of humanism in England" and that he knew Latin literature "intimately"². Certainly Skelton did have a thorough education in the Latin 'classics' included in the curricula of the late medieval schools and universities³, and certainly he was capable of adorning his writings with classicizing allusions and of incorporating classical phrases into his Latin verse; but the following examples tend to indicate only early assimilation and subsequent retention on Skelton's part, of only the most prominent of the ancient curriculum authors, Vergil and Ovid⁴, rather than the sort of ongoing,

¹ F.M. Salter and H.L.R. Edwards, *The Bibliotheca Historica of Diodorus Siculus translated by John Skelton*, Early English Text Society 233, 239 (London, 1956-1957), II, pp. 419-422. Alexander Dyce, *The Poetical Works of John Skelton*, 2 vols. (London, 1843), had already pointed out many of the quotations listed by Salter and Edwards: but none of the quotations discussed here has been previously identified.

² Salter and Edwards, II, pp. xxxii and xlviii.

³ Many of these curricular authors are no longer regarded as 'classical' authors, however; see E.R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Willard R. Trask (New York, 1953), pp. 48-54, and the remarks of M.L.W. Laistner in his review of Curtius, *Speculum*, 24 (1949), 260-261.

⁴ Skelton does also demonstrate some familiarity with Horace and the satirists Juvenal and Persius, as well as with Vergil and Ovid; but neither I nor Salter and Edwards have been able to discover evidence of a knowledge on Skelton's part of such secondary authors as Lucan or Statius, and Skelton's single quotation from Claudian — he quotes *In Eutrop.* I 181 at line 10 of the *Decastichon virulentum in galeratum Lycaonta marinum* which follows the *Why Come Ye Nat to Courte?* (ed. Dyce, II, p. 66) — is gnomic enough

engaged reading of the Latin classics that would have enabled more skilled use of classical allusions than most of the following examples embody.

1. *Chorus de Dis contra Scottos* 9-12⁵.

Millia Scottorum trusit gens Anglica passim;
Luxuriat tepido sanguine pinguis humus:
Pars animas miseri miseras misere sub umbras,
Pars ruit in foveas, pars subiit latebras.

The second line of this passage from Skelton's Latin celebration of the English victory over the Scots at Flodden Field in 1513, probably written in late September 1513⁶, quotes the first of Ovid's *Heroides*, the letter of Penelope to Ulysses, in which she describes what she imagines Troy to look like, now that her heroic husband and the other Greeks have destroyed it (*Her.* 1.53-56):

Iam seges est, ubi Troia fuit, resecandaque falce
Luxuriat Phrygio sanguine pinguis humus;
Semisepulta virum curvis feriuntur aratris
Ossa, ruinas occulit herba domos.

By quoting the line from Ovid, and thereby alluding to the line's original context in the *Heroides*, Skelton was able to liken the English victory over the Scots to the Greek victory over the Trojans, and so furthered his aim of celebrating the contemporary triumph, by setting it on a level with the long-past triumph of epic heroism. Like the already identified quotation from Fortunatus's Easter hymn — a celebration of Christ's great triumph — with which Skelton's poem begins⁷, this

to seem likely to have come from a *florilegium* or commonplace book rather than from a familiarity with Claudian's rare poem.

⁵ Ed. Dyce, I, p. 190.

⁶ Skelton wrote a series of poems, in Latin and English, on this event; see William Nelson, *John Skelton, Laureate* (New York, 1939), pp. 124-137, and H. L. R. Edwards, *Skelton: The Life and Times of an Early Tudor Laureate* (London, 1949), pp. 141-145; and on the responses to the same events of other poets associated with the court of Henry VIII, see also Germain Marc'hadour, "Croisade triumpnale de l'Angleterre: 1513", *Moreana*, 35 (1972), 63-68, and N.A. Gutierrez, "John Skelton: Courtly Maker/Popular Poet", *Journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association*, 4 (1983), 59-76.

⁷ Cf. the *Chorus de Dis contra Scottos* 1 (ed. Dyce, I, p. 190): "Salve, festa dies, toto resonabilis aevo" to Fortunatus III 9.39 (ed. Friedrich Leo, *Fortunati opera poetica*, MGH Auct. Ant. 4, pars prior [Berlin, 1881], p. 60): "Salve, festa dies, toto venerabilis aevo", which in its turn probably quotes Ovid, *Fasti* I 87: "Salve, laeta dies".

quotation from Ovid would appear to be an allusion fully cognizant of the line's original context and of its original context's implications, unlike the following examples.

2. *Lamentatio Urbis Norwicensis* 7-9⁸.

Urbs, tibi quid referam? breviter tibi pauca reponam:
 Prospera rara manent, utere sorte tua;
 Perpetuum mortale nihil, sors omnia versat.

This conclusive advice, from Skelton's lament over the destruction of Norwich by fire in 1507⁹, quotes the conclusion of the *Aeneid*, from Turnus's address to Aeneas after Aeneas has wounded him and he lies defeated at the hero's feet (*Aen.* XII 930-932):

Ille humilis supplexque oculos dextramque precantem
 Protendens 'equidem merui, nec deprecor', inquit:
 'Utere sorte tua'.

The line in the *Aeneid* is simple and straightforward, even if the passage in which it occurs is not: Turnus acknowledges his defeat and enjoins Aeneas to do what Aeneas would have done anyway; and Aeneas makes use of his chance by killing the already prostrate Turnus in spite of his pleas for mercy, in one of the *Aeneid*'s most effecting passages. But then Skelton's quotation of the Vergilian phrase, in his basically more straightforward poem, imparts to his ostensive consolation an apparently unforeseen and probably unwanted implication. As Skelton's *sors omnia versat* confirms, he here would use the term *sors* in the sense of Boethian *Fortuna*, so that his *utere sorte tua* is a bit of Boethian advice: he would enjoin the citizens of Norwich to benefit from their misfortune, to use their city's prostration to strengthen their character, just as Boethius's character is strengthened by misfortune in the *Philosophiae consolatio*. Viewed thus, solely from the perspective provided by the phrase's immediate context in Skelton's poem, the phrase contributes pertinently to the poem's consolation; but the allusion to the phrase's context in Vergil that Skelton's quotation of it makes cannot have so consoled the citizens of Norwich; rather, if recognized, the quotation

⁸ Ed. Dyce, I, p. 174.

⁹ On the events addressed by Skelton's poem, see Francis Blomefield, *An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk*, 2nd ed., vol. 3 (London, 1807), pp. 182-183.

and its original context could only have troubled them further. Norwich may have resembled Turnus in its prostration; but Skelton should not have wanted to imply, as he inevitably does by his quotation from Vergil, that the further end of Norwich's present misfortune should resemble that of Turnus.

3. *Phyllyp Sparowe* 1371-1373¹⁰.

Inferias, Philippe, tuas Scroupe pulchra Joanna
 Instanter petiit: cur nostri carminis illam
 Nunc pudet? est sero; minor est infamia vero.

These three hexameters, incorporated into Skelton's reply to criticisms from Alexander Barclay, which makes up his "adicyon" to the *Phyllyp Sparowe*, probably written fairly soon after the 14 December 1509 publication of Barclay's remarks¹¹, quote from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: Jupiter had heard talk of human degeneracy and had visited earth to confirm the rumours, he reports to the assembled gods (*Met.* I 211-215):

Contigerat nostras infamia temporis aures;
 Quam cupiens falsam summo delabor Olympo
 Et deus humana lustris sub imagine terras.
 Longa mora est, quantum noxae sit ubique repertum,
 Enumerare: minor fuit ipsa infamia vero.

The phrase in Skelton's poem, viewed only in its immediate context, is apparently intended to suggest that Barclay had overstated his case: that the *infamia* of Barclay's attack on the original *Phyllyp Sparowe* is of less consequence than the truth of the matter, namely, that the poem was not one that Jane Scroupe need feel ashamed of, Barclay's criticisms notwithstanding; the phrase in Ovid's poem means the opposite: that

¹⁰ Ed. Dyce, I, p. 93.

¹¹ In his own addition, on "newe Folys", to his translation of the *Shyp of Folys*, published by Pynson on 14 December 1509 (STC 3545), Barclay would seem to have accused Skelton of "vyciousnes" and "wantones":

Holde me excusyd, for why my wyll is gode,
 Men to induce unto vertue and goodnes:
 I wryte no iest ne tale of Robyn Hode,
 Nor sawe no sparckles ne sede of vyciousnes.
 Wyse men love vertue, wylde people wantones;
 It longeth nat to my scyence nor cunnyng
 For Phyllyp the Sparowe the Dirige to synge.

See further Maurice Pollet, *John Skelton: Poet of Tudor England*, trans. John Warrington (London, 1971), pp. 55-57.

the *infamia* that had come to Jupiter's attention was inadequate to describe the degeneracy that he had actually witnessed, in other words, that the *infamia* had understated the case. Skelton's lines attempt to calm or console Jane Scroupe by dismissing Barclay's attack as negligible, as *minor vero*; but then the allusion to the passage in the *Metamorphoses* that Skelton makes by quoting the Ovidian phrase counters such an attempt, by suggesting that Barclay's *infamia*, like that which had come to Jupiter's attention, is inadequate to describe the actual degeneracy of Skelton's original poem, that Barclay's attack was *minor vero* in a sense that did not flatter either Skelton or Miss Scroupe. Quotation of the Ovidian phrase, and the evocation of its original meaning in its original context that comes inevitably of the quotation, are improper here: Skelton only belied his poem's apparent intention by the quotation, and in the end suggests that Barclay's criticisms were well founded, even inadequately damning.

4. *Cur tibi contexta est aurea Calliope?* 3-4¹².

Hanc ego Pierius tanto dignabor honore,
Dum mihi vita manet, dum spiritus hos regit artus.

These lines from Skelton's Latin celebration of his devotion to the muse Calliope, probably occasioned by his nomination *orator regius* apparently in about April 1512¹³, quote from the *Aeneid* again, from Aeneas's leave-taking from Dido (*Aen.* IV 333-336):

Tandem pauca refert: 'ego te, quae plurima fando
Enumerare vales, numquam, regina, negabo
promeritam, nec me meminisse pigebit Elissae,
Dum memor ipse mei, dum spiritus hos regit artus.'

Whether Aeneas is a sympathetic figure at this point in his odyssey or not, still his subsequent actions belie the spirit of his remarks here; Aeneas's words turn out to be empty of practical value to Dido, and she kills herself after he has abandoned her. By quoting the passage, Skelton imputes to himself a faithlessness to his muse, like Aeneas's faithlessness to Dido, that betrays his poem's ostensive purpose: Skelton would appear to be pledging to serve his muse, but the terms in which he has chosen to couch his pledge imply that his promise will be

¹² Ed. Dyce, I, p. 198.

¹³ See H. L. R. Edwards, "The Dating of Skelton's Later Poems", *PMLA*, 53 (1938), 601-603, and Nelson, pp. 122-124.

as worthless as Aeneas's original, which it inevitably recalls. In this example, as also in the previous two examples — all of them quotations from some of the best known passages in Latin literature — it is as if Skelton were recalling passages studied carefully but long ago, now remembered well enough to recur to his mind and hand but not well enough to be used effectively. That Skelton's quotations from Latin poetry, even if only in the instances here discussed, can thus contradict the apparent purposes of the poems in which they occur bespeaks a carelessness on Skelton's part, that of a poet not fully in control. Others associated with the literary circles around the early Tudor court were castigated for lesser lapses¹⁴.

II. Skelton's *Speculum principis* and Valerius Maximus

The *Speculum principis* is probably Skelton's most important Latin writing, his only known attempt to do work in a large-scale Latin genre; nevertheless, the treatise does seem to have been hurriedly composed, in August 1501, probably just prior to Skelton's release from the appointment as tutor to the Tudor princes Arthur (b. 1486) and Henry (b. 1491) that he may have taken up as early as 1489¹⁵, and then to have been hurriedly and incompletely revised, for presentation to Skelton's former pupil, now king Henry VIII, some time between June 1509 and April 1512¹⁶. F.M. Salter speculated that Skelton could have written it in a day¹⁷.

¹⁴ Witness the scorn heaped on Pietro Carmeliano for a false quantity he had admitted to a Latin poem of his on Flodden Field, in a series of letters that passed between Erasmus and Andrea Ammonio, Carmeliano's successor as royal secretary; ed. P.S. Allen, *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1906), nos. 280, 282-283, pp. 540, 542, 544. On Carmeliano see D. Carlson, "The Occasional Poetry of Pietro Carmeliano", *Aevum* 61 (1987), 495-502.

¹⁵ On Skelton's appointment and tenure as tutor, see F.M. Salter, "Skelton's *Speculum Principis*", *Speculum*, 9 (1934), 30-35, and Nelson, pp. 64-65 and 71-76.

¹⁶ On Skelton's revision and representation of the treatise, see Salter, p. 29. The presentation copy of the revised *Speculum principis*, in London, British Library, Addit. 26787, a small (16 × 11.25 cms), exquisite manuscript, carefully written, though not in Skelton's own hand, that includes also a pair of Latin poems and a Latin prose complaint against Skelton's neglect, all by Skelton, is still in its original tooled-leather binding, decorated with representations of the Tudor rose, encircled by a ribbon with the legend (an elegiac distich) "hec rosa virtutis de celo missa sereno eternum florens regia sceptrum feret", on its front cover, and of the royal arms, supported by the dragon that represented the Tudor claim to descent from King Arthur and the greyhound that represented the Tudor's Lancastrian claims, as in the arms in stone in Henry VIII's King's College

Skelton's composition of the *Speculum principis* with such dispatch would have been facilitated in part by his reliance on readily accessible *compendia* of sententious wisdom and apparently recondite *exempla*. It has already been detailed how extensively Skelton relied on the *Disticha Catonis*¹⁸, a probably third-century collection of moral commonplaces that had become a standard curricular text already by the twelfth century¹⁹. The conclusive section of the *Speculum principis* (fols. 19^v-22^v)²⁰, beginning with Skelton's stated intention "paucis... quibusdam preceptis breviter proditis memorie tue mox inceptis periodum imponere", is, like the whole of the *Disticha*, a list of brief, grammatically simple moral precepts. Occasionally, Skelton's recollection of his model was quite close, most often when he was borrowing from the *Disticha*'s prologue²¹; but more usually, Skelton's precepts only approximate similar statements in the *Disticha*²²; and inevitably, Skelton's own enthusiasms led him to elaborate on his source in ways characteristic of him, as for example when the *Disticha*'s circumspect counsel "Meretricem fuge" (Pro.25) becomes in Skelton's adaptation "Prostibulum scortorum fuge. Noli nuptias temerare. Virgines noli deflorare. Viduas noli violare" (fol. 20^r), odd advice to present to boys of fifteen and ten years of age, odder still to represent to the young king Henry VIII in an attempt to regain his favour. Skelton need not be thought to have referred directly to the later books of the *Disticha Catonis*, from which he borrowed and adapted less often, probably from memory; but he would seem to have had its prologue open in front of him, to prompt his improvisations on its moral themes, as he composed this final section of his *Speculum principis*.

Chapel, Cambridge, on its back cover. This collection represents the only example of editorial work on his own writing by Skelton.

¹⁷ Salter, p. 29.

¹⁸ See Salter and Edwards, II, pp. 423-424.

¹⁹ On the *Disticha*, see M. Boas, "De librorum Catonianorum historia atque compositione", *Mnemosyne*, 42 (1914), 17-46; on its incorporation into standard school curricula, see Curtius, pp. 48-54. Caxton published Benedict Burgh's English translation of it c. 1477 (STC 4850); and ten editions of Latin and English texts of the *Disticha* were printed in England by 1550.

²⁰ The *Speculum principis* is here quoted from the manuscript, London, British Library, Addit. 26787, fols. 2^r-24^r; quoted passages can also be located by the manuscript foliation in Salter's edition, pp. 33-36.

²¹ E.g., cp. *Speculum principis*, fol. 20^v: "Iram cohibeas. Neminem irrideas" to *Disticha* Pro.45: "Iracundiam rege" and Pro.31: "Neminem riseris".

²² E.g., cp. *Speculum principis*, fol. 20^r: "Non sis immemor beneficii" to *Disticha* Pro.50: "Benefici accepti esto memor".

Evidence suggests that Skelton also made use of another standard curricular text, the *Factorum et dictorum memorabilium libri* of Valerius Maximus, from which Skelton would seem to have gleaned not moral commonplaces but the numerous allusions to seemingly obscure antiquities that dot the *Speculum principis*. Valerius wrote his handbook of exemplary narratives, conveniently grouped under such headings as Clemency, Chastity, Moderation, Gratitude, and so on, c. A.D. 31, for use in schools of rhetoric, to provide student orators with a handy source of *exempla* with which they might lend weight to their arguments²³; Skelton seems to have used Valerius's handbook as it was intended to be used, extracting from it *exempla* that suited his purposes. But then by relying on Valerius's selection of *dicta et facta* to the extent that he did, Skelton also surrendered to Valerius part of the responsibility for organizing the *Speculum principis*.

At *Speculum principis*, fols. 4^r-5^r, as *exempla* of self-sacrificing *probitas*, Skelton repeats anecdotes about an *Attilius*, apparently Aulus Attilius Serranus (fl. 458-439 B.C.), and a *Quincius*, the better known Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus, more commonly referred to as Cincinnatus, who had both given up their lives of simply virtuous agricultural employment to serve the Roman *imperium*; the same pair of anecdotes in the same order are collocated by Valerius Maximus, in a section of his handbook on those "qui ab aratro arcessebantur, ut consules fierent"²⁴. At *Speculum principis*, fol. 5^v, Skelton repeats an anecdote "de Pirro", apparently the Molossian king Pyrrhus (319-272 B.C.), which probably also came from Valerius Maximus, for neither Pyrrhus nor the story of him that Skelton and Valerius tell in common was widely known in the post-antique West²⁵. The most recondite examples

²³ See Curtius, pp. 59-61 and 268 n. 55.

²⁴ Valerius Maximus IV 4.4-7. Livy III 26-29 also praises Cincinnatus, but not Attilius.

²⁵ Cp. *Speculum principis*, fol. 5^v: "Quid de Pirro commemorarem, cuius ingens oblata pecunia ad efficiendam federis confirmationem tamen, quia soli virtuti concedebant spretis muneribus quibus sepe iusticia pervertitur, Romanorum potuit obpugnare neminem" to Valerius Maximus IV 3.14: "Pyrrus impetus sui terrore soluto ac iam Epiroticis armis languentibus benivolentiam populi Romani mercari, quia virtutem debilitare nequiverat, cupiens paene totum regiarum opum apparatus in urbem nostram transtulerat. Ceterum cum et magni pretii et varii generis a legatis eius tam virorum quam feminarum apta usui munera circa domos ferrentur, nulla cuiusquam dono ianua patuit, Tarentinaeque petulantiae animosus magis quam efficax defensor haud scio maiore cum gloria huius urbis moribus repulsus sit".

of rulers “celeberrimos in iusticia” in Skelton’s list of them in the *Speculum principis* (fol. 22^v), the Athenian statesman Themistocles (c. 528-462 B.C.) and the Persian emperor Cyrus the Great (559-529 B.C.), are both also often lauded by Valerius Maximus, again specifically for their justice²⁶. And finally, in probably the clearest instance of how Valerius’s selection determined not only the contents but even the arrangement of Skelton’s treatise, of the six pious rulers listed by Skelton at *Speculum principis*, fol. 22^r, the last two — the Roman emperors Titus (reigned A.D. 79-81) and Theodosius (c. A.D. 346-395), whose reputations were such that Skelton need not have had specific sources of information about them — postdate Valerius Maximus and so could not have been mentioned in his handbook; but the others — a *Marcellinus*, perhaps more properly Marcus Claudius Marcellus (fl. 222-208 B.C.)²⁷, Julius Caesar, Pompey, and Alexander, the one a relatively obscure figure and the rest not readily or naturally to be associated with pious behavior — from whom Skelton would have had his pupils learn *compati* and *misereri* (fol. 22^r), are all listed by Valerius Maximus, in a section headed “De humanitate et clementia”, in the order adopted by Skelton in the *Speculum principis*²⁸.

Skelton does elsewhere in his writings demonstrate a familiarity with Valerius Maximus²⁹; and the *Factorum et dictorum memorabilium libri* did certainly enjoy wide circulation³⁰; but in any event, the correspond-

²⁶ On Themistocles, see Valerius Maximus V 3.ext.3; V 6.ext.2-3; VI 9.ext.2; VII 2.ext.9; VIII 7.ext.15; VIII 14.ext.1; on Cyrus, see Valerius Maximus V 4.ext.6; VIII 7.ext.16. Valerius does collocate anecdotes about Themistocles and Cyrus, at VIII 7.ext.15-16, in a section “De studio et industria”, but the anecdotes — how Themistocles learned Persian, and how Cyrus knew the names of all of his soldiers — do not demonstrate their justice.

²⁷ The extant text of the *Speculum principis* enjoins the princes to learn piety “ex Marcellino” (fol. 22^r), and it is possible that Skelton did intend to refer to some pious Marcellinus here, perhaps Gnaeus Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, patron of Sicily, who resisted the impieties of Sicily’s proconsul Verres, later also the object of Cicero’s wrath in the *Verrine Orations*; but it does seem more likely that *Marcellino* is a copyist’s error, or perhaps Skelton’s own error, for *Marcello*, and that the passage was meant to refer to Marcus Claudius Marcellus (fl. 222-208 B.C.), whom Skelton does mention in the second of the poems included in the *Speculum principis* collection (ed. Salter, p. 37), and of whom Valerius Maximus V 1.4 remarks “Age, M. Marcelli clementia quam clarum quamque memorabile exemplum haberi debet”.

²⁸ Valerius Maximus V 1.4-V.1.ext.1.

²⁹ Skelton mentions Valerius Maximus by name at *Ware the Hauke* 199 and in a sidenote, probably authorial, at the end of the *Replycacion*, ed. Dyce, I, p. 224.

³⁰ On the manuscript circulation of Valerius Maximus, see P. K. Marshall, in *Texts and Transmission*, ed. L. D. Reynolds (Oxford, 1983), esp. p. 429; G. Di Stefano, “La

ences between sections of the antique textbook and sections of Skelton's *Speculum principis* are sufficiently close to indicate that Skelton also referred to this book of narrative commonplaces when assembling his educational treatise. Unlike his associate in the literary circle around the court of Henry VII, Bernard André, who was also appointed a tutor to the princes and whose educational treatise for them was of sufficient interest to merit a translation of it from French into English³¹, Skelton would seem to have been content to discharge his obligation haphazardly, assembling his equivalent treatise second hand, from materials in the *Disticha Catonis* and Valerius Maximus. It cannot have been work like the *Speculum principis* that Erasmus had in mind when, in a 1499 letter to prince Henry, the recipient of both the original and the revised *Speculum principis*, he characterized Skelton as "unum Britannicarum litterarum lumen ac decus, qui tua studia possit non solum accendere sed etiam consummare"³²; certainly Skelton did not invest so much of his literary ambition into the *Speculum principis*.

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CANADA

diffusion de Valère Maxime au XIV^e siècle", in J. IJsewijn-E. Kessler (eds.), *Acta Conventus Neolatini Lovaniensis* (Louvain-Munich, 1973), pp. 219-222; Robert Proctor, *An Index to the Early Printed Books in the British Museum* (1898-1906; rpt. London, 1960), lists some twenty editions of Valerius Maximus as published in Europe before 1500.

³¹ André's treatise, a *Livre dit grace entière sur le fait du gouvernement d'un prince* is extant in the manuscript, London, British Library, Royal 16 F.ii; and the *Tract of Good Governance* in the manuscript, Cambridge, Trinity College, 0.5.6 would seem to be a translation of it. Neither has been printed.

³² Ep. 104, ed. P.S. Allen, *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1906), p. 241.

Suzanne DE HEMPTINNE

ANNIUS DE VITERBE COMME SOURCE DANS LE
“DE REBUS BATAVICIS” DE RENIER SNOY.

*Historicus, medicus, vates: haec singula Snoyus
Unus homo pariter munia sustinuit.*

Ce distique de Valerius Andreas conclut la notice bio-bibliographique qu'il consacre à Renier Snoy dans sa *Bibliotheca Belgica*¹. Contemporain et compatriote d'Érasme, Renier Snoy fut médecin à la cour d'Adolphe de Bourgogne, poète à ses heures, politicien par devoir ou par tradition familiale, philosophe et théologien dans ses écrits; il fut aussi et surtout historien de sa patrie, ce dont témoigne l'ouvrage important sur l'histoire des Bataves qu'il écrivit au début du 16^e siècle.

Dans une récente étude, nous avons rassemblé les éléments biographiques connus et tenté de situer dans son temps l'humaniste de Gouda et ses écrits². Cependant, c'est surtout l'œuvre historique de Snoy, cette fameuse Histoire de la Hollande en 13 livres, *De Rebus Batavicis libri XIII*, qui a retenu notre attention³.

“Je ne sais si j'entreprends un travail de valeur en décrivant l'histoire des Bataves, les illustres stratagèmes, les actions d'éclat de leurs Comtes, dont j'ai entendu parler ou que j'ai appris par la lecture. Je ne le sais, et si je le savais, je n'oserais le dire ...⁴. Cependant, quoi qu'on

¹ Valerius Andreas, *Bibliotheca Belgica: De Belgis vita scriptisque claris*. (Louvain, 1643, reproduction anastatique: Nieuwkoop, 1973), p. 790.

² S. de Hemptinne, *Uitgave, vertaling en studie van: Reynerus Snoy Goudanus (ca. 1477-1537), De Rebus Batavicis Libri XIII, boek II*. Mémoire de licence en philologie classique présenté à la Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, juin 1988.

³ Mis à part le second livre que nous avons réédité, traduit et divisé en paragraphes, cet ouvrage ne fut édité qu'une seule fois, presque un siècle après la mort de Snoy. C'est son petit-neveu, Jacob Cool, qui se chargea de l'édition et y ajouta une notice bio-bibliographique. L'ouvrage de Snoy est inséré dans le volume de François Sweertius, *Rerum Belgicarum Annales*. (Francfort, 1620).

⁴ Renier Snoy, *De Rebus Batavicis*, p. 1: “Facturusne sim operae pretium, si res Batavas Comitumque stratagemata praeclara eorumque fortia facta, de quibus audiui et legi, conscribam, nec satis scio, nec si sciam, dicere ausim ...”. Cfr. Tite Live, *Ab Urbe Condita*, première phrase de la préface.

pense de mes écrits, cela m'importe peu, du moment que notre histoire, pratiquement ensevelie dans les ténèbres, reparaisse à la lumière, à la mémoire des hommes. Il ne faut pas que ces formidables et valeureuses actions des Comtes Bataves soient privées de la gloire qui leur revient, ni que le temps les efface"⁵.

Dans la première préface à son œuvre historique, Renier Snoy annonce ainsi le sujet qu'il se propose de traiter. Ailleurs, le titre de son œuvre annonce une chronique des comtes de la Hollande, la Zélande et la Frise, des Évêques d'Utrecht et des ducs de Bourgogne⁶. En fait, il s'agit d'une large esquisse historique des Pays-Bas: histoire du peuple, mais surtout des comtes qui se succédèrent à la tête de leurs provinces jusqu'au début du 16^e siècle, au moment de l'avènement de Charles Quint.

L'ensemble de cette histoire est fondée sur une importante description géographique et une recherche élaborée des toutes premières origines. Le décor est planté dans le premier livre; les origines premières sont retracées dans le second. La description géographique et le souci des origines, qui forment ainsi la base de cet ouvrage historique, sont en fait des éléments très caractéristiques de la nouvelle historiographie qui se manifeste dans le cadre du renouveau humaniste aux Pays-Bas.

— Résumé du premier livre:

Après une brève justification du choix de son sujet et une présentation de la méthode historique qu'il se propose de suivre, Renier Snoy commence son histoire par une description du décor. La Germanie: ses fleuves, ses villes, les peuples qui l'habitent. Une louange du peuple germanique, inspirée de la *Germanie* de Tacite. Il s'engage ensuite dans la description des Pays-Bas, dont il délimite les différentes régions: Bethasia, Betua et Batavia ne sont pas synonymes, et il est très

⁵ R. Snoy, *ib.*: "Utrumque tamen, quae scribam, aestimata erunt, in parvo ponam discrimine, modo nostratia, in tenebris prope sepulta in lucem atque hominum memoriam redeant, ne ingentia atque eximia illa *Comitum Batavorum* facinora, aut sua fraudulentur gloria aut aevum ullum obliteret..." En faisant référence au *De Rebus Batavicis* de Renier Snoy, nous utiliserons désormais l'abréviation DRB suivie du numéro du livre et de la pagination de l'édition de 1620. S'il s'agit du second livre, l'indication du paragraphe concerne l'édition de 1988.

⁶ "Chronica Hollandiae, Zelandiae, Frisiae, Episcoporum Traiectensium et Ducum Burgundiae", titre donné par J.N. Paquot au manuscrit du DRB qu'il aurait vu dans la collection du comte de Cuyper. Cfr. J.N. Paquot, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire littéraire des dix-sept provinces des Pays-Bas*. (Louvain, 1768), XI, 63.

important de préciser les frontières qui séparent ces trois régions! C'est à la Batavie qu'il accorde le plus d'attention, en décrivant — comme il l'a fait plus haut pour la Germanie en général — les villes, les fleuves, le peuple et ses coutumes qui ne récoltent que louanges de la part des auteurs antiques ou contemporains⁷. Enfin, il décrit la Zélande et la Frise, régions voisines de la Batavie au sud et au nord.

— Résumé du second livre:

Pour retracer les origines, Renier Snoy remonte aux tout débuts du temps, à la création du monde par Dieu. Les histoires de Caïn et Abel, des géants anthropophages et du déluge ont leur place dans l'évolution. Elles nous permettent de comprendre l'importance de Noé comme patriarche, père de tous les hommes par ses trois premiers fils, Sem, Cham et Japhet, et par les dix-sept fils qu'il engendra après le déluge et qui furent appelés Titans, d'après le nom de leur mère, Tytea.

Un de ces Titans était Tuyscon, qui devint le père des Germains. C'est pourquoi les Germains sont appelés "Tuyscons" ou "Teutons", ou encore "Alemanni" d'après le nom du fils de Tuyscon, Mannus. Cette dynastie donna ainsi lieu à la création de toute une série de nouveaux peuples, ayant chacun pour origine un des descendants de Tuyscon. Quant à la Batavie, certains prétendent que cette île est récente et vient de surgir hors de l'océan, d'autres disent qu'elle est très ancienne. Quoi qu'il en soit, l'autorité de Tacite permet de dire que le peuple Batave est une branche du peuple des Chattes, ce dont témoignerait en outre l'étymologie de la ville de Catwijck.

Jules César conquiert la Gaule et l'on raconte qu'il eut bien du fil à retordre avec les Bataves, mais il n'en est rien, il n'a pas été jusqu'en Batavie, sinon il l'aurait bien écrit dans ses Commentaires! Auguste fut le premier général Romain à entrer en contact avec les Bataves, Drusus leur imposa un roi, Germanicus alla venger la perte des légions de Quintilius Varus, Caligula se couvrit de ridicule sur les côtes de la mer du Nord, et Claude soumit la Bretagne.

L'auteur rapporte en outre une tradition sur la "forêt sans clémence"

⁷ Principalement Tacite et Pline l'Ancien comme auteurs antiques. Les contemporains qu'il cite sont Aloysius Marlianus, Chrysosthomus Neapolitanus, l'adage *Auris Batava* d'Érasme, bien qu'il n'avoue pas cette dernière source. Il s'est probablement inspiré également des traités sur la Batavie de son ami Corneille Gérard, parus au moment où il rédigeait son Histoire. Cfr. K. Tilmans, *Aurelius en de Divisiechroniek van 1517. Historiografie en humanisme in Holland in de tijd van Erasmus*. (Hilversum, 1988), pp. 149-154.

qui aurait existé dans les environs de la Batavie⁸. Il relate la rébellion des Chauques, la trahison de Gamnascus, le Canninéfate. Il évoque la fondation de Cologne, la tyrannie de Néron, la fondation d'Antonia (Utrecht), l'invasion des Frisons en Hollande, la rébellion des Ansibariens. Tel est le lointain passé de la Hollande dont l'auteur poursuit la description dans le troisième livre, essentiellement consacré aux démêlés des Bataves et des Romains.

— L'identification des sources du second livre du *De Rebus Batavicis*.

On le voit, dans la logique du mouvement humaniste auquel il appartient, Renier Snoy accorde une importance majeure à toute la période antique et remonte le plus loin possible dans sa quête des origines. Fidèle au principe qu'il défend au début du premier livre, de consulter le plus de sources possible, il puise abondamment dans les écrits anciens dont il peut disposer. Il aime à nommer Cicéron, Tacite, César et Pline l'Ancien, il mentionne également Ptolémée, Polybe, Solin ou Strabon, et pour le début du second livre, il semble avoir utilisé principalement les textes de Moïse, l'auteur de la Genèse, et de Bérose.

Bérose était un Babylonien, prêtre de Bel, et ayant joui d'une éducation grecque. Il vécut au 3^e siècle avant notre ère et rédigea en grec une histoire de la Babylonie. On en retrouve des passages dans les écrits de Flavius Josèphe, d'Athénée, de Clément d'Alexandrie, d'Eusèbe et de quelques autres, mais ceux-ci ne ressemblent en rien aux histoires invraisemblables que Renier Snoy dit avoir reprises aux écrits du Babylonien⁹.

Cette constatation nous a menés sur la piste d'un autre Bérose: celui qu'Annius de Viterbe forgea de toutes pièces à la fin du 15^e siècle et dont il édita les *Antiquités* en même temps qu'un grand nombre d'autres œuvres falsifiées. C'est en confrontant le second livre du *De Rebus Batavicis* de Snoy au volume forgé par le fameux faussaire de Viterbe, que nous nous sommes rendus compte de l'influence considérable

⁸ À propos de la forêt sans clémence, "het woud zonder genade", cfr. H. Kampinga, *Opvattingen over onze Vaderlandse Geschiedenis bij de Hollandse historici der 16^e en 17^e eeuw*. ('s-Gravenhage, 1917 et Utrecht, 1980), p. 174.

⁹ Cfr. F. Susemihl, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur in der Alexandrinerzeit*. (repr. anast. Hildesheim, 1965) t. I, p. 605 sqq.; F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. (Leiden, 1963), II, 495-510. et *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. ed. Pauly-Wissowa (Stuttgart, 1896-1972) t. III, p. 309 sqq.

exercée par ce dernier sur l'œuvre de Snoy. Il faut dire que nombreux ont été ceux qui sont tombés dans le même piège. Erasme lui-même n'a pas été assez lucide pour rejeter sans hésitation les affirmations du pseudo-Philon à propos du problème de la généalogie du Christ¹⁰.

L'identification des sources utilisées par Renier Snoy dans son Histoire de la Hollande est une première étape de l'analyse de sa méthode historique. Le choix des sources est important, de même que la façon plus ou moins critique dont l'auteur s'en est inspiré. Dans l'étude que nous avons consacrée à Renier Snoy, nous avons dépouillé la plupart des sources du second livre du *De Rebus Batavicis*¹¹.

La seconde partie de ce livre relate la période de la domination Romaine en Gaule et en Germanie et Snoy y reprend tous les passages d'auteurs classiques qui touchent — de près ou de loin — à l'histoire de la Batavie¹². Ainsi, César est cité une fois. Les six derniers livres des *Annales* de Tacite servent d'inspiration à l'évocation de la rébellion des Chauques, celle des Frisons, la fondation de Cologne par Agrippine, les méfaits de Néron et la persécution des chrétiens. Snoy évoque également Verritus et Maleorix, deux jeunes chefs Frisons en ambassade à Rome, où Néron leur accorda la citoyenneté, de même que les vains efforts de Boiocalus et des Ansibariens pour obtenir un morceau de terre où habiter. Ce sont de longs passages, presque inchangés, que Snoy a repris à Tacite dans chacun de ces six derniers livres des *Annales*¹³. La *Germanie* de Tacite est elle aussi mentionnée dans la seconde partie du livre II. La *Vie des XII Césars* de Suétone est une autre source importante. À partir de cet ouvrage, ce sont les empereurs

¹⁰ Cfr. l'article sur Anniius de Viterbe dans *Contemporaries of Erasmus. A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, ed. P.G. Bietenholz et T.B. Deutscher (Toronto, 1985-1987) et R. Crahay, "Réflexions sur le faux historique: le cas d'Anniius de Viterbe", *Académie Royale de Belgique, Bulletin de la classe des lettres*, 69 (1983), 241-267 (pp. 257-258); E. Fumagalli, "Un falso tardo-quattrocentesco: lo pseudo-Catone di Annio da Viterbo", dans *Vestigia. Studi in onore di Giuseppe Billanovich*, 2 vols (Rome, 1984), I, 337-63; Ch. Ligota, "Annio of Viterbo and Historical Method", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 50 (1987), 44-56.

¹¹ Cfr. S. de Hemptinne, *Reynerus Snoy Goudanus*, chapitres 4 et 5.

¹² La distinction de deux parties que nous introduisons dans le second livre est fondée sur le contenu et sur une utilisation de sources très différentes. La première partie va jusqu'à la page 19, ligne 38 de l'édition de 1620, c.à.d. jusqu'au paragraphe 13 de notre édition.

¹³ Les *Annales* XI à XVI et les *Histoires* de Tacite parurent en 1470 à Venise. Les cinq premiers livres des *Annales* ne parurent qu'en 1515, à Rome. Renier Snoy commença à écrire son Histoire vers 1509, et la conclut en 1519.

Romains qui sont introduits dans l'histoire de la Hollande: Auguste et son beau-fils Drusus, Tibère et Germanicus, Caligula, Claude, Néron ... Certains passages de Suétone sont repris littéralement dans le *De Rebus Batavicis*. Enfin, quelques traditions populaires relatant les aventures du Brutus Troyen, l'origine de l'île des Bataves, la venue de Jules César ou de Claude dans ces contrées, la fondation d'Antonia (Utrecht), sont reprises dans la seconde partie du second livre, par souci d'exhaustivité et avec prudence. Fort de son matériel historique antique, l'auteur relativise ces données souvent légendaires en les confrontant aux auteurs plus sûrs dont il peut avancer les textes millénaires.

C'est l'identification des sources de la première partie du second livre qui retiendra cependant notre attention. Comme nous l'avons dit plus haut, c'est le pseudo-Bérose d'Annius de Viterbe qui a servi de référence principale à cet écrit, c'est avec le livre ouvert d'Annius devant les yeux, que Renier Snoy a rédigé ce chapitre sur les origines du monde et de la Batavie. D'autres auteurs sont également mentionnés: les prophètes Chaldéens, la *Bibliothèque Historique* de Diodore, la *Géographie* de Ptolémée, l'*Histoire Naturelle* de Pline l'Ancien, Solin, la Genèse de Moïse, le livre sur les *Homonymes* de Xénophon, Maseas, Manéthon, Jérôme l'Égyptien, Philon, Ovide, les Talmudistes, Tacite, les *Saturnales* de Macrobe. Il sera intéressant de constater que pratiquement aucun de ces autres auteurs n'a été consulté directement par Snoy, mais qu'en les nommant, il n'a fait que recopier les commentaires d'Annius complétant l'édition des faux.

— Annus de Viterbe.

C'est en 1498 que parut à Rome, sur les presses d'Eucharius Silber, le livre intitulé *Antiquitatum variarum volumina XVII*. Le savant dominicain Annus de Viterbe prétendait y avoir rassemblé un grand nombre de fragments d'œuvres antiques qu'il aurait redécouvertes et qui n'étaient connues nulle part ailleurs. Il y ajouta un commentaire personnel, reprenant et élargissant la signification des fragments et les confrontant à la Bible ainsi qu'à d'autres auteurs antiques connus ou moins connus. En plus d'un grand nombre d'autres falsifications, on peut y lire les cinq livres des *Antiquités* de Bérose¹⁴.

Annius utilisa le nom de Bérose pour introduire une toute nouvelle

¹⁴ Cfr. R. Crahay, *Réflexions*, pp. 253-254 et son analyse des différentes éditions, pp. 259-266.

tradition dans l'étude de l'antiquité et de la "prisca theologia"¹⁵. Dans la description de l'histoire du monde, il démontra l'existence d'une culture très ancienne, remontant au patriarche Noé. Après le déluge, cette civilisation originaire d'Arménie se serait répandue dans le monde entier, bien avant l'époque de Cadmos, en Grèce. Les Grecs n'auraient donc aucun mérite à l'apparition de la culture, Annius le certifie à plusieurs reprises dans son commentaire, lorsqu'il parle de la "Graecia mendax" et ajoute que "philosophia a barbaris initium sumpsit, non a Graecis"¹⁶.

Cette même idée, nous la retrouvons chez Renier Snoy, où nous lisons: "Eant modo Graeci principia quarumque rerum sibi vendicantes, nescii multo ante Cadmi aetatem Germanos, Gallos, Hispanos litteras, philosophiam, poesim atque Theologiam didicisse"¹⁷.

L'intention d'Annius de Viterbe était de démentir l'importance de la culture hellénistique en imaginant une culture bien plus ancienne, qui aurait été élaborée par les Babyloniens et les Germains. Ce faisant, il répondait en outre au désir de nombreux contemporains, car Bérosee offrait ce qu'on avait en vain cherché chez Tacite: une généalogie des peuples remontant au tout début de l'humanité, une confirmation de l'identité propre de chaque peuple à travers les siècles.

En Italie, la critique ne se fit pas attendre. Les falsifications d'Annius furent entre autres démasquées par Sabellicus et par Petrus Crinitus. Beatus Rhenanus fut le premier à les dénoncer en Allemagne, mais il fallut du temps pour que cette critique soit acceptée par tous.

— Annius de Viterbe dans le *De Rebus Batavicis*.

Renier Snoy utilisa les *Antiquités* d'Annius en toute bonne foi. Les fragments du pseudo-Bérosee et le commentaire ajouté par Annius forment la trame de la première moitié de son second livre. Tout comme il nomme les autres sources dont il s'est inspiré, Snoy mentionne aussi le nom de Bérosee, le Chaldéen, mais il tait celui d'Annius.

¹⁵ Cfr. W.E. Stephens, "The Etruscans and the Ancient Theology in Annius of Viterbo" in *Atti del Convegno su "Umanesimo a Roma nel Quattrocento"*, a cura di P. Brezzi e M. de Panizza Lorch (Rome - New York, 1981), pp. 309-322.

¹⁶ Cfr. e.a. son commentaire sur le fragment V,1 de Bérosee, p. 101. L'édition de Bérosee que nous avons utilisée est: *Berosi sacerdotis Chaldaici Antiquitatum Italiae ac totius orbis libri quinque, Commentariis Ioannis Annii Viterbensis...* (Anvers, 1552). Nous ferons chaque fois référence au numéro du livre et du fragment de Bérosee, en plus de la pagination.

¹⁷ *DRB*, livre II, 9 (p. 18).

Si Annii n'avait été que l'éditeur des écrits de Bérose, la seule mention du Chaldéen aurait été suffisante. Les commentaires d'Annius ont cependant été d'égale, sinon de plus grande importance à la rédaction du second livre de Snoy, et l'honnêteté de l'humaniste aurait dû l'inciter à avouer également cette source.

Prenons un exemple :

Dans le *DRB* II, 3 (p.16) nous lisons: "Habitavere eam Gigantes universo orbi imperitare volentes, qui labente tempore, corporis animique viribus egregie abuti, neminem non lacessere, libidini inservire, scelus sceleri addere, consumere mortales in pastum, matrum abortum ad epulum instruere, ac si abortus illis essent ova et humanae carnes altilia. Non tantopere id admirandum cum et hac nostra aetate ad Meridiem instar faciant barbari in insulis quarum Hispaniarum rex Ferdinandus aliquot sibi armis subiecit, castrantes et saginantes captivos quorum esu tamquam pecudum pinguescant. Ptolemaeus quoque in *Geographia* Aethiopes anthropophagos annotat. Plinius item Scythas, humana carne vescentes. Insuper nullum veriti flagitium facinusque admittere, vim omnibus inferebant: non mater, non soror, non filia, non masculi, ne bruta quidem libera erant ab incaestis corruptelis".

L'inspiration de ce passage, nous la retrouvons dans le texte de Bérose au livre I, fragment 2, p.44: "Scribunt illis temporibus fuisse Enos urbem maximam gigantum, qui universo orbi dominabantur, ab occasu solis ad ortum ... Manducabant homines et procurabant aborsus in eduliumque praeparabant, et commiscebantur matribus, filiabus, sororibus et masculis, brutis, et nihil erat sceleris quod non admitterent, contemptores religionis et deorum".

Et dans le commentaire d'Annius qui suit ce texte, à la page 46: "In particulari vero quoad oppressiones, feritatem supremum scelus adjiciebant ut homines manducarent et aborsus in edulium delitiosi epuli procurarent, ac si ova essent aborsus et carnes humanae altilia. Neque hoc fabula est cum aetate nostra in insulis Cananeis, quarum quasdam nunc subegit gloriosus rex Hispaniae Ferdinandus, homines captos castrant et in greges more pecudum ad convivia servant. Ptolemaeus quoque in *Geographia* aetate sua Aethiopes et alios Anthropophagos, id est hominum commestores annotat. Plinius in quinto naturalis historiae capitulo septimo asserit Scythas esse qui humanis corporibus vescuntur".

Cet exemple démontre entre autres que lorsqu'il mentionne d'autres

auteurs classiques, Renier Snoy ne les a souvent pas consultés lui-même, et ne les cite que sur la foi d'Annius de Viterbe, sans nommer ce dernier. La même constatation s'impose à nous dans le passage sur le déluge, où Snoy écrit: "Diluvium fuisse novimestre asserit Solinus in Collectaneis, Moses in Genesi et Xenophon libro de aequivocis". (*DRB* II,4 p.17). Nous retrouvons l'inspiration de cette phrase dans le commentaire d'Annius à la page 51: "Fuit autem hoc primum diluvium novimestre, ut Solinus asserit in Collectaneis, et Moyses Genesis VIII cap. et Xenophon de aequivocis".

L'identification des sources de Snoy nous amène donc ici à tenter d'identifier les sources d'Annius. Dans le cas du dernier exemple cité ici, cette identification s'avère assez facile: Annus s'est inspiré des *Collectanea* de Solin 11,18 et du livre de la Genèse 8, 3-5. Le *Liber de Aequivocis* de Xénophon est une autre falsification d'Annius, parue dans le même volume que celle de Bérose. À la page 18-19, on y lit cette même affirmation à propos du déluge qui dura 9 mois. Ces sources, assez simples à retrouver, peut-être que Snoy les a lui aussi vérifiées. En d'autres endroits, l'identification des sources d'Annius est cependant beaucoup plus compliquée. Ainsi par exemple en ce qui concerne des auteurs tels que Maseas le Phénicien, Jérôme l'Égyptien, Manéthon ...

Ils sont cités dans le *De Rebus Batavicis* à propos du déluge, dans le même paragraphe que l'exemple précédent: "Haesisse arcam propter Araxim fluvium iugis Gordiei montis Armeniae, cuius aerumnae praeter Mosen meminere quoque Berosus Chaldaeus, Maseas Phoenix, Manethon ac Hieronymus Aegyptii, alique rerum scriptores".

Manéthon était un historiographe Égyptien bien connu et dont on conserve encore de larges fragments, mais nulle part, il n'y est question du déluge. Mnaseas, un autre historiographe de la période hellénistique, était originaire de Patara, en Lycie. Son œuvre n'est pas conservée. Jérôme l'Égyptien n'est mentionné que dans deux passages des *Antiquités Juives* de Flavius Josèphe. Il serait l'auteur d'une *Phoinikikè Archaiologia* qui n'est pas non plus conservée¹⁸.

Par un heureux hasard, les passages de Flavius Josèphe où il est question de ce Jérôme l'Égyptien, mentionnent également Bérose le Chaldéen, Mnaseas, Manéthon, l'auteur de l'histoire égyptienne, et d'autres auteurs dont Nicolas de Damas. Les voilà donc tous dans une même phrase, ces auteurs disparates auxquels Snoy fait allusion!

¹⁸ Cfr. Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, t. XIV/1, pp. 1060-1106, t. XV/2, pp. 2248-2253 et t. VIII/2, pp. 1560-1561.

Cependant, ce n'est pas le texte original en grec de Flavius Josèphe, qui fut utilisé par Annius, mais bien sa version latine qu'en fit Cassiodore au 5^e-6^e siècle¹⁹. Cette version latine était assez généralement répandue durant le Moyen Age²⁰. En 1958, Franz Blatt a procuré une édition moderne de ses cinq premiers livres, intitulée *The Latin Josephus*²¹.

Voici ce que nous pouvons lire dans les passages qui nous y intéressent: "... Nam et Manethon, qui descriptionem fecit Aegyptiorum, et Berosus qui Chaldaica defloravit, et Mochus et Estius, ad haec et Hieronymus Aegyptius qui Phoenica disposuerunt concordant cum meis dictis". (I,107)

Et: "Huius vero diluvii et arcae memoriam faciunt omnes qui historias barbaricas conscripserunt, quorum unus est Berosus Chaldaeus ... Meminit autem horum et Hieronymus Aegyptius, qui antiquitatem Phoeniciae noscitur conscripsisse. Sed et Mnaseas Damascenus in nonagesimo historiarum libro ita de eis dicit ..." (I,93)

Nicolas de Damas a donc disparu dans la traduction et ses paroles ont été attribuées à Mnaseas, de même que l'épithète Damascenus, conférant à Mnaseas une nouvelle origine. Si l'on tient compte de la contamination possible des mots "antiquitatem Phoeniciae" précédant la mention de Mnaseas dans la même phrase, et de la prédilection d'Annius de Viterbe pour les homonymies²², la transformation de Mnaseas Damascenus en Maseas Phoenix est facilement compréhensible.

Annius de Viterbe fait très souvent allusion à ce "Phénicien", comme s'il s'agissait d'un auteur très connu. A maintes reprises, il mentionne du même coup les Égyptiens Manéthon et Jérôme. Il est important de noter ici la variante orthographique apparue avec la disparition du *n*. Mnaseas de Patara est devenu Maseas Phoenix sous la plume d'Annius de Viterbe. L'orthographe de Maseas et l'épithète "Phoenix", nous les retrouvons chez Snoy, ce qui nous permet de conclure avec certitude

¹⁹ Cassiodore y fait allusion dans le chapitre XVII de ses *Institutiones Divinarum Literarum* (ou *Lectionum*); cfr. *Patrologiae cursus completus*, ed. Migne, (Paris, 1847) series prima, 70, t. 2, p. 1133; édition critique par R.A.B. Mynors, *Cassiodori Institutiones* (Oxford, 1937; 1961²).

²⁰ Cfr. M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, (Munich, 1965) t. 1, p. 51.

²¹ Franz Blatt, "The Latin Josephus", *Acta Jutlandica: Publications of the University of Aarhus*, 30,1 (1958).

²² Cfr. R. Crahay, *Réflexions*, pp. 253-254.

que Snoy n'a pas lu la version latine de Flavius Josèphe et ne se base que sur les commentaires d'Annius pour mentionner ces sources très douteuses.

En va-t-il de même pour les autres sources qu'il nomme ainsi sur l'autorité d'Annius? Ne les a-t-il pas vérifiées? Prenons l'exemple de Tacite.

Nous savons que Snoy a lu attentivement les *Annales* de Tacite au moment de la rédaction de la seconde partie du second livre. Nous avons déjà fait allusion aux différents thèmes repris à Tacite à propos de la période Romaine aux Pays-Bas. Dans cette même seconde partie du second livre, — où il n'a donc plus l'usage d'Annius de Viterbe comme source — Snoy fait quelques fois référence à la *Germanie* de Tacite, et ces références se vérifient aisément. Dans le premier livre du *De Rebus Batavicis*, la *Germanie* de Tacite est une source d'inspiration importante. La louange du peuple germanique y est tout simplement recopiée de Tacite²³. Nous savons donc que Renier Snoy disposait du texte de Tacite. A-t-il vérifié les passages où Annius s'inspirait du même texte?

En effet, la *Germanie* de Tacite est un des principaux textes à avoir servi d'inspiration à Annius. Le faussaire utilise le texte de Tacite en fonction de ses propres, nouvelles théories, qu'il attribue à Bérose. Cependant, Tacite étant de près de cinq siècles plus jeune que Bérose, Annius présente les dires de Bérose comme jouissant d'une autorité beaucoup plus importante, et ne fait qu'accidentellement allusion à Tacite, comme à un témoin secondaire.

Pour évoquer Tuyscon, l'ancêtre des Germains, Annius s'est inspiré de ce dieu Tuisto, né de la terre, auquel Tacite fait allusion dans la *Germanie* 2,1. Il y est écrit: "Celebrant carminibus antiquis, quod unum apud illos memoriae et annalium genus est, Tuistonem deum terra editum. Ei filium Mannum, originem gentis conditoremque, Manno tris filios assignant, e quorum nominibus proximi Oceano Ingaevones, medii Hermiones, ceteri Istaevones vocentur".

Nous retrouvons cette même phrase dans le commentaire d'Annius à la page 68 et dans le *DRB* II,10 (p.18). Seule l'orthographe du nom Tuisto a été transformée en Tuyscon.

La phrase suivante de Tacite évoque la tradition selon laquelle d'autres peuples encore trouveraient leur origine dans le même dieu. Il

²³ Snoy, *DRB*, I p. 5, lignes 51-56 et Tacite, *Germanie*, 4.

dit: “Quidam, ut in licentia vetustatis, plures deo ortos, pluresque gentis appellationes, Marsos Gambrivios Suebos Vandilios, adfirmant, eaque vera et antiqua nomina”. Cette phrase, Anniius la reprend aussi dans son commentaire, à la page 68, et dans le texte de Bérose, il transforme cette énumération de peuples en une généalogie. C’est ainsi que nous lisons dans le second livre de Bérose que Tuyscon fut l’auteur de la Germanie, et que sa postérité est la suivante: Mannus- Ingaevon- Istevon- Herminon- Marsus- Gambrivius- Suevus- Teutones- Vandalus- Hunnus- Hercules²⁴.

Renier Snoy reprend cette généalogie, cet “arbre Bérosien”, comme il le nomme lui-même; il ne le remet pas en question, parce qu’il ne contredit pas les dires de Tacite, comme le fait déjà remarquer Kampinga²⁵. Dans ce cas-ci, nous pouvons être pratiquement certains qu’il a confronté le commentaire d’Annius au texte de Tacite, qu’il ne s’est pas contenté des affirmations d’Annius, étant donné qu’il disposait du texte de Tacite. Le fait que nous retrouvons chez Snoy et pas chez Anniius la phrase de Tacite qui suit les deux phrases déjà citées, est une indication de plus dans ce sens²⁶.

Cette constatation nous amène à croire que là où il le pouvait, Snoy tenait tout de même à vérifier les sources mentionnées par Anniius. Il a sûrement consulté la Bible, il a pu vérifier les citations de Solin, de Pline, de Tacite. Les auteurs qu’Annius lui-même ne citait qu’indirectement, tels Maseas ou Jérôme l’Égyptien dans Flavius Josèphe, il ne les a pas retrouvés comme nous avons pu le faire, grâce au matériel philologique dont nous disposons aujourd’hui. Quant aux autres falsifications parues dans le même volume, le pseudo-Philon²⁷ et le pseudo-Xénophon, pour ne nommer qu’eux, il leur a accordé tout son crédit, comme à Bérose.

— Renier Snoy et l’historiographie moderne.

Le résultat est sans doute une histoire assez extravagante à notre sentiment, mais comme l’a écrit R. Crahay, “il nous faut prendre garde de ne pas tomber dans l’anachronisme culturel: l’information d’un philo-

²⁴ Bérose, II, fragment 3, p. 61.

²⁵ H. Kampinga, *Opvattingen*, p. 9

²⁶ R. Snoy, *DRB* II, 13 (p. 19 lignes 34-38) d’après Tacite, *Germanie* 2,5.

²⁷ *Breviarium de temporibus*: un faux connu avant Anniius. Cfr. Crahay, *Réflexions*, p. 251.

logue du 15^e siècle n'est pas la nôtre, et les gens de l'époque n'avaient pas le même sentiment que nous de ce qui est extravagant"²⁸. Et puis, l'aubaine était bien belle : une source antique qu'on avait cru perdue, et dont la découverte révélait au monde des données historiques toutes nouvelles, pour ne pas dire révolutionnaires ! On imagine aisément l'enthousiasme des historiographes contemporains d'Annius de Viterbe, face à cette source inattendue. Les *Antiquités* du savant dominicain ont eu de ce fait un impact important dans toute l'Europe humaniste. Leur influence ne resta pas limitée au nationalisme de Viterbe, ni même à celui de l'Italie !

Pour comprendre cet enthousiasme, il faut rappeler que l'historiographie moderne, développée à cette époque par les humanistes de la Renaissance, est caractérisée par un sentiment de nationalisme que Renier Snoy définit comme la raison première de son écriture : "cet amour de la patrie qui envahit et ravit mon esprit avec une telle force que, bien que je ne sois pas à la hauteur de parler selon sa dignité, je ne puis cependant me taire"²⁹.

Ce sentiment nationaliste amena le désir de mieux définir l'identité de la nation, et vit donc un renouvellement de l'intérêt pour l'histoire de cette nation. Pour confirmer son importance, il était nécessaire de remonter aux origines, et plus celles-ci étaient anciennes, plus la nation gagnait en noblesse. Ce souci de retracer les origines trouva de plus un fondement solide dans la récente publication et dispersion des textes antiques. Les grands historiens de l'Antiquité se virent aussitôt accorder un crédit absolu par les historiographes humanistes. Cependant, les Anciens n'avaient pas tout dit, et lorsqu'on eut épuisé toutes les interprétations possibles des sources antiques, on imagina des légendes, on inventa des étymologies, on alla jusqu'à forger des faux au nom d'auteurs antiques perdus, et qui servaient à ravir les nouvelles théories. Il faut savoir, comme l'écrit Fueter, que l'esprit critique des humanistes en était venu à rejeter toutes les traditions qui avaient joui d'une certaine autorité durant le Moyen Age. Les sources médiévales n'étaient plus crédibles et c'est donc en partie pour sauvegarder l'image de marque des nations, qu'on inventa de nouvelles sources³⁰.

²⁸ R. Crahay, *Réflexions*, p. 256.

²⁹ "...subiit ac tetigit animum pietas qua erga (patriam) incredibiliter feror, quae etiam ita me rapit ut quum fari pro dignitate rerum haud valeam, tacere tamen haud possim". R. Snoy, *DRB* seconde préface, p. 51.

³⁰ E. Fueter, *Geschichte der neueren Historiographie*. (Munich-Berlin, 1936³), pp. 135-136.

Annius de Viterbe est sans doute le plus célèbre faussaire de cette époque. On peut presque le taxer de faussaire “scientifique”, tant ses mises en scène sont bien imaginées. Les mobiles qui ont pu le guider dans son ouvrage, ont été décrits par R.Crahay. En outre, l’utilisation qu’en firent ses contemporains est caractéristique pour ce que Fueter appelle “die kritische Halbheit der Humanisten”. Si l’on acceptait l’authenticité de l’auteur antique, on acceptait de même l’authenticité de ses dires, mais ces deux choses vont-elles nécessairement de pair? Pour les humanistes, cela allait de soi: “wenn eine Quelle einmal als antik erwiesen war, besass ihr Inhalt kanonisches Ansehen”³¹.

— Conclusion

On comprend donc que Renier Snoy utilisa cette source avec la même confiance que les autres. Il n’eut pas vraiment l’occasion de se rendre compte que c’était un faux: l’important, pour lui, était de remettre en valeur, dès ses origines, l’histoire de sa nation, et le texte de Bérose représentait pour lui une trame de fond inespérée. S’il n’a pas remis en question l’authenticité du texte de Bérose ou des autres faux, il a sans doute essayé de vérifier les commentaires d’Annius, dans les passages où ce dernier faisait référence à d’autres sources. Il n’a cependant pas rejeté ces commentaires, là où les vérifications s’avéraient impossibles: l’autorité du savant dominicain lui paraissait suffisante.

Enfin, il ne faut pas oublier que Renier Snoy se fonda également sur de véritables sources antiques, dont les moindres ne sont pas Tacite, Suétone ou Pline l’Ancien. L’influence du pseudo-Bérose d’Annius sur son Histoire de la Hollande se limite à la première partie du second livre. Les deux premiers livres du *De Rebus Batavicis* sont révélateurs du souci de l’auteur de se fonder sur le plus de sources possibles, de les confronter entre elles et d’en retenir la description la plus réaliste. Une étude plus approfondie des livres suivants permettrait de savoir s’il reste fidèle à la même méthodologie dans la suite de son histoire où, très vite, il ne dispose plus des sources antiques tant recherchées. L’historien du Moyen Age montre-t-il le même désir de rigueur scientifique que l’historien de l’Antiquité? L’étude de cette question réserve sans doute encore bien des surprises.

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³¹ E. Fueter, *Geschichte*, pp. 135-136.

Edward GEORGE

THE *DECLAMATIONES SULLANAE* OF JUAN LUIS VIVES: SOURCES AND DEPARTURES

The *Sullan Declamations* of Juan Luis Vives (1520, revised 1538) are a voluminous series of five polished orations in the personae of real and imaginary parties to the abdication of the dictator Lucius Cornelius Sulla during the waning decades of the Roman Republic¹. The collection's enthusiastic reception by Erasmus and other contemporaries has not found universal later confirmation, and save for a critical edition of the first three declamations a half century ago, it has until now received

¹ Citations of Vives' texts are from *Ioannis Ludovici Vivis Opera Omnia* (abbreviated *VOO*), edited by Gregorius Majansius, 8 vols (Valencia, 1782), by volume and page number, with modified punctuation and orthography. Passages of the *DS*, all in *VOO* Vol. II, are cited by page only. I also use Vives' *Declamationes Syllanae* (Antwerp, 1520) and *Declamationes Sex*, etc. (Basel, 1538). See Juan Luis Vives, *Declamationes Sullanae: Part One*, edited by E.V. George (Leiden, 1988), a critical edition of the first two declamations, abbreviated *DS* 1988, and E.V. George, "The *Sullan Declamations*: Vives' Intentions", in S.P. Revard et al., ed., *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Guelpherbytani: Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies* (Binghamton, NY, 1988), pp. 55-61. On the general character of the declamations, see *DS* 1988, Introduction, and below at pp. 133-35 and 138-44 in my discussion of the influence of Quintilian and of the *IPC*. I use the abbreviation *DS* for Majansius' edition of the *Declamationes Sullanae* and ancillary material. Other abbreviations: *ASD* = *Opera Omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami* (Amsterdam, 1969ff.), cited by volume, page, and lines. *CWE* = *The Collected Works of Erasmus* (Toronto, 1974ff.), cited by volume, page and lines. *EE* = *Opus Epistolarum Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami*, edited by P.S. Allen (Oxford, 1906ff.), with citations by epistle and line. *IPC* = Erasmus, *Institutio Principis Christiani*, edited by O. Herding, in *ASD* IV.1, pp. 95-219, cited by page and line. Translations by Neil Cheshire and Michael Heath in *CWE* Vol. 27 (1986). *Seis Decl.* = Juan Luis Vives, *Seis declamaciones. Las cinco primeras llamadas Silanas, la sexta contestando a la de Quintiliano titulada "paries palmatus"*. Prologo del Excmo. D. Juan Contreras, Marques de Lozoya. Traducion y notas de R.P. Juan Alventosa, O.F.M., D. Juan Sentandreu y D. Guillermo Hijarrubia. Valencia, 1940. (Another page describes this volume as "Obras completas de Juan Luis Vives. Seis declamaciones, Vol. I.") Universidad de Valencia, Publicaciones de la catedra 'Luis Vives'. I am indebted to Professor August Monzon i Arazo of the University of Valencia for access to this rare work. Van der Poel = Marc G.M. van der Poel, *De declamatio bij de humanisten* (Nieuwkoop, 1987). Watson = Vives: *On Education. A Translation of the De Tradendis Disciplinis of Juan Luis Vives*, by Foster Watson (Totowa, N.J., 1971/1913).

almost no modern attention². Nor has anyone attempted to vindicate Vives' implicit assertion that these declamations are historically significant; in 1538 he claimed that through them he was resurrecting a moribund or even extinct art³. Further, Vives has created some confusion by positing a variety of partially conflicting reasons for writing these speeches. In the following pages I shall pursue three objectives: to point out, in a survey of earlier and contemporary literature, a rare combination of qualities which renders these declamations indeed remarkable, if not unique; to suggest an intellectual background for this distinctive combination; and to hypothesize as a corollary a gradually developing attitude toward the *Sullan Declamations* on the part of Vives himself. Though I allude occasionally to stylistic features of the declamations, I regard this essay as a series of considerations preliminary to a study of style, which would properly form the central object of another paper.

1. The *DS*: Their Contrasts with Similar Literature

The five *Declamationes Sullanae*, comprising 138 Majansius pages, were composed with meticulous fidelity to Plutarch, Appian, and other ancient sources on the Roman Republic. Their topics are:

- I. "Fundanus" urges Sulla to keep the dictatorship. (Preceded in the 1538 revision by an *argumentum* to I and II.)
- II. Fonteius urges him to resign.
- III. Sulla, persuaded by Fonteius, delivers his abdication speech. (Preceded in 1538 by an *argumentum*.)
- IV. Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, consul-elect, attacks Sulla. (Preceded in 1538 by an *argumentum*.)

² *EE*, Ep. 1082, and the 1538 Dedicatory Epistle to the *DS* (p. 318). The now rare *Seis Decl.* provides a 10-page prologue, the 1538 text down to the end of Declamation III with the 1520 readings, very sparse explanatory notes, and no indexing. Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín, *Luis Vives y la Filosofía del Renacimiento*, 3 vols (Madrid, 1929), II, 171-4, commends the speeches, especially the second, which he considers a model of the genre. Carlos P. Noreña, *Juan Luis Vives* (The Hague, 1970), pp. 64-6, calls them "a magnificent example of 'dialectical invention'", which illustrates "reasoning ... conceived as a persuasive accumulation of convergent proofs directed to a specific and practical conclusion". A. Lange, *Luis Vives*, translated by Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo (Buenos Aires, n.d.), pp. 18-20, does not share Erasmus' and More's high opinion of the declamations.

³ *DS* 317; see below, p. 133 and n. 28.

V. After Sulla's death, Lepidus attacks him again, and calls for the restoration of Rome. (Preceded in 1538 by an *argumentum*.)

A fusion of five characteristics distinguishes these declamations as a group from most, if not all, earlier or contemporary preserved works to which one might resort for comparison, and which Vives might be expected to have in mind. These characteristics are:

- 1) The setting in an actual series of events from classical, not later, history.
- 2) copious and careful adherence to authentic detail from ancient sources.
- 3) full elaboration of *elocutio*, the third step in composing and delivering an oration, and not a mere set of notes or exemplary passages suggesting how one might proceed.
- 4) continuity through a series of speeches which mark moments in an unfolding drama, complete with intervening *argumenta* in the later edition.
- 5) an explicit introductory statement of pedagogical purposes, reaching beyond improvement of technical rhetorical competence and pointing to specific lessons in effective political behavior.

Vives thus diverges from several classes of precedent, beginning with the mass of Renaissance declamations which refer to Renaissance settings⁴. Likewise, the corpora of *controversiae*, or judicial speeches, though at times touching on historical backgrounds or even events, are by definition founded substantially upon stock topics and characters, and need not be faithful to actual historical occasions⁵. Among these the most prominent are the *controversiae* of Seneca the Elder, which far outnumber his *suasoriae*, or political deliberations, and the numerous pseudo-Quintilianic *declamationes minores* and *maiores*. Because of their length and polish, the *DS* are also quite different from *progym-*

⁴ If one considers the activity which Vives sees himself pursuing as he composes the *DS*, declamations which take as their setting the sixteenth century, or indeed any postclassical ambiance, are quickly identified as quite another sort. See below, p. 133 and n. 28, and pp. 146-50. Practice for public effectiveness through the use of ancient themes, not actual community performance directly engaging problems of the moment, is the arena of the *DS*.

⁵ See Ricardus Kohl, *De Scholasticorum Declamationum Argumentis ex Historia Petitis* (Paderborn, 1915). Kohl cites (p. 101) the few actual occurrences of the Sullan dictatorship in declamatory literature. Despite the fundamental difference between *controversiae* and *suasoriae* noted here, I discuss later a number of *suasoriae* by Vives himself and others which are selected for their usefulness in clarifying the peculiar nature of the *DS*.

nasmata, the simplified transitional exercises taking the student from grammar to rhetoric⁶. Unlike Seneca's mythological (e.g. Agamemnon deliberating) and historical (e.g. Cicero confronting his own death) *suasoriae*, the *DS* form an ensemble, resembling in this regard the *Verrines* or *Philippics*; in fact, Vives mentions the *Verrines* in discussing how long to make the series (*DS* 318).

There does not appear to be, prior to 1520 in Renaissance Latin, an example of a fully unified ensemble of polished *suasoriae* recreating authentically a situation in classical history, and systematically illustrating political principles, on the scale essayed by Vives⁷.

⁶ Cf. Donald L. Clark, "The Rise and Fall of Progymnasmata in Sixteenth Century Grammar Schools", *Speech Monographs*, 19 (1952), 259-63.

⁷ Van der Poel, p. 220, finds the *DS* the only sixteenth century declamations he has examined which have both a direct derivation from ancient models and a function beyond the narrowly oratorical. Earlier minor compositions in this vein, such as Salutati's youthful pair of declamations at Lucretia's suicide (ed. Herrmann Mueller, "Zur Literatur der Geschichte von der Lucretia", *Blätter für das Bayerische Gymnasial- und Real-Schulwesen*, 14 (1878), 371-74; also ed. E. Menestò, *Editae et ineditae dal ms 53 della biblioteca comunale di Todi*, Todi, 1971, pp. 35-43, not seen by me, cited in van der Poel, p. 210, n. 718), his similar brief speeches for and against freedom of speech (published in Andrew McCormick, "Freedom of Speech in Early Renaissance Florence: Salutati's 'Questio est coram decemviris'", *Rinascimento*, N.S. 19, 1979, 235-40), or Marcus Porcius Latro's *Oratio in Catilinam* in the person of Cicero (see below, pp. 136-37, on editions of Sallust), only serve to emphasize the more intense and expansive character of the *DS*. The speeches by Constantine's sons and by the Roman people's representative in Lorenzo Valla's *De falso credita et ementita Constantini donatione* (Ed. Wolfram Seitz: Weimar, 1976, pp. 68-75) offer brief models from a polemic context. Gasparino Barzizza's model epistles (*Gasparini Barzizii Bergomatis et Guinifortii Filii Opera*, ed. J.A. Furiectus, Rome, 1723, Vol. I, pp. 220ff.) present fictitious writers from the ancient Roman republic or, it seems at times, from Italian cities of the quattrocento. While we find many of the features of Vives-style dramatic re-creation, Barzizza avoids portrayal of specific historical events, describing rather transferable situations (e.g., on pp. 233-34, the writer advises the recipient that his «friend» Sergius is actually his enemy, who has been expelled from the writer's republic for good reason). The speeches in Constantius Felicius Durantinus' *Bellum Catilinae*, discussed below (pp. 137-38), likewise approximate Vives' concept but do not approach it for length or for meticulous elaboration. There is also a series of four orations in Latin, found in several manuscripts, purporting to be by Aeschines, Demas and Demosthenes, and to emanate from a discussion at Athens over whether to surrender a group of refugees to Alexander the Great. Cf. Ludwig Bertalot, *Studien zum italienischen und deutschen Humanismus* (Rome, 1975), vol. II, pp. 246-47. Again, these pieces are extremely brief and do not compare with the *DS* as fully elaborated speeches. Bertalot leans toward R. Sabbadini's suspicion that Pietro Marcello, not Leonardo Bruni, is their author. They appeared in print at Cologne in 1472 and 1474. For text see Sabbadini, "Antonio da Romagno e Pietro Marcello", *Archivio Veneto*, 30 (1915), pp. 241-44. I am heavily indebted to Dr. John Monfasani for direction to the sources discussed in this note.

A survey of pertinent Greek declamatory material in early sixteenth century printed editions renders even more decisive the peculiar nature of the *DS*. Sopatros, an Athenian rhetorician dated between the fourth and sixth centuries, is one example. His collection of 81 declamatory exercises under the title *Divisions* was produced by Aldo Manuzio in 1508 and 1509⁸, and recommended by Vives for young students of declamation:

There are extant very prolix *diaereseis zetematōn* (Treatment of Contentious Questions) by the Sophist Sopater, which the teacher himself should closely examine and, as far as seems good, bring material from the book into the school⁹.

However, what Sopatros gives us are not full-dress declamations but notes on how to compose them. Nor are there close thematic parallels to the *DS*¹⁰.

Erasmus' translation of three brief mythological declamations of Libanius, classifiable as *suasoriae*, first printed about the time of the composition of the *DS* (Louvain, Martens, July 1519), provides an instructive contrast. In these exercises, Menelaus argues with the Trojans to retrieve his wife; Medea ponders the murder of her children; and Andromache mourns the dead Hector. Like the *DS*, the pieces are impersonations; the latter two appear as the first samples under the heading *ethopoeiae* in Libanius' *progymnasmata*¹¹. The principal differences for our purposes are their brevity and the fact that the themes are mythological not historical. As with the Lucianic *Tyrannicida* and its replies discussed below, the levity of Erasmus' engagement contrasts with the weight Vives puts on the *DS*: we have here the first of Erasmus' translations out of the Greek, chosen as 'good material for

⁸ Cf. Ant. Aug. Renouard, *Annales de l'Imprimerie des Alde* (Paris, 1825), I, 127-9.

⁹ *Sopatris sophistae διαρρέσεις ζητημάτων extant prolixae admodum; eas institutor ipse scrutabit, et ad scholam, quae illinc videbuntur, deferet.* (VOO VI.360. Watson, pp. 186-87). Sopatros offers the precedent of historical themes in declamation, such as that in which Alcibiades, demanding a bodyguard after his naval victory at Cyzicus in 408 B.C., is accused of aiming at tyranny. Cf. *Rhetores Graeci*, edited by Christianus Walz (Stuttgart, 1835), vol. VIII, p. 2, along with the comments in D.A. Russell, *Greek Declamation* (Cambridge, Eng., 1983), pp. 123-28.

¹⁰ For a possible exception see Walz vol. VIII, p. 95. The argument that a voluntarily abdicating tyrant is unlikely to return resembles Fundanus' point in *DS* 338-9 that a dictatorship relinquished is not easy to retrieve.

¹¹ *Libanius*, edited by Richardus Foerster (repr. Hildesheim, 1963), vol. VIII. pp. 372-78; for the Menelaus speech, see V. 199-221.

that exercise, not grist for edification (*res tota leuicula est*, “the whole business is quite lightweight”, he tells the dedicatee)¹².

In the *meletai*, or Declamations, of Libanius, printed in Italy in 1517, we have closer parallels¹³. Like the *DS*, and unlike Sopatros’ and Seneca’s declamations, these fifty-one pieces are full-dress orations. The first 25, classed as myth-historical, interest us here; the remainder, characterized as ethological (revolving around whores, misers, pirates and other character types rather than myth-historical individuals), do not¹⁴. Six of the first 25 are mythical; seven of the remaining nineteen form an ensemble marked out by Foerster as “Philippics”, for their unity of subject, but their varying quality (in some cases casting doubt on authenticity) and their loose mutual connection illustrate how they do not add up to a series in the same sense as do the *DS*¹⁵. At the same time Libanius, like Vives, resorts copiously to historically authentic sources in his reconstructions. The remaining twelve historical declamations likewise exemplify the concept of speeches put in the mouths of historical participants long after their existence; Socrates presents his apology, Cimon pleads for his father, Neocles accuses Themistocles after Salamis and Themistocles replies, and so on. In sum, Libanius provides a precedent for the historical reconstruction found in the *DS*, but without the Vivesian coordination throughout an extended, dramatically continuous series of speeches or the intention of communicating specific, carefully defined political lessons.

In 1506 there appeared a series of Lucian’s opuscula with Latin translations by Erasmus and More¹⁶. The volume includes a friendly literary competition between the two scholars; each of them translates, and composes a reply to, Lucian’s *controversia*, ‘The Tyrannicide’¹⁷. A

¹² *ASD* I.1. p. 184.1, ed. R.A.B. Mynors; cf. Erika Rummel, *Erasmus as a Translator of the Classics* (Toronto, 1985), pp. 21-7.

¹³ *Λιβανίου σοφιστοῦ Μελέται λόγοι τέ καὶ ἐκφράσεις*, Ferrara, Iohannes Macchiochus Bondenus, 1517. I have not seen this edition, but have used Foerster’s Teubner.

¹⁴ Cf. *Paulys Real-Encyclopaedie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, edited by G. Wissowa and W. Kroll, Vol. 12 (Stuttgart, 1925), cols. 2509-18, s.v. Libanios.

¹⁵ See Foerster’s comments, often caustic, in the edition cited. For instance he judges No. 18 as too inelegant and jejune to be by Libanius. Two of the declamations (19, 20) are alternate treatments of the same topic. The pieces in the collection enjoyed varying degrees of popularity, and so did not always appear as a unity.

¹⁶ *Luciani viri quam disertissima compluria opuscula*, etc. (Paris, Badius Ascensius).

¹⁷ Van der Poel, p. 216ff., discusses the *Tyrannicide* declamations alongside the *DS*, with less emphasis than I am making here upon the contrasts between Vives’ work and the others.

Greek tyrant-slayer, in pursuing his quarry, encounters and kills the despot's son instead, leaving the fatal sword in the body. The tyrant arrives, and in grief at the sight of his son's corpse ends his own life with the same sword. The killer claims the city's standing reward for tyrannicide. Again we have stock characters and situations, separating these pieces at once from the *DS*; but a close look will be useful in delineating a wide divergence on other grounds as well. Erasmus' prefatory epistle to his own reply speech, addressed to Richard Whitford, expresses the spirit in which he takes on the task:

After being quite immersed in Greek literature for some years now, my dear Richard, I have recently turned to writing Latin declamations, just for the sake of getting on familiar terms again with that language. This I did at the suggestion of Thomas More ...¹⁸

Erasmus then denies that his intention is to equal or defeat his eloquent friend,

but merely to wrestle, as it were, in this contest of wits with the most congenial of all my friends, in whose company I enjoy combining jest and earnest; and I have done so all the more willingly because I am most anxious that this sort of exercise, which I regard as the most profitable of all, should someday be revived in our schools Please bear in mind as you read my declamation that I did not compose it but merely threw it off as a recreation within a very few days¹⁹.

Erasmus' own engagement takes the form of a game, designed to encourage the exercise of declamation among school youths, and, unlike the *DS*, not intended to communicate lessons, political or otherwise, through the substance of the speech.

Erasmus remarks further that a declamation is

an imaginary case, pursued on both sides for the purpose of practicing speechmaking ... One who engages in declamation forswears belief in his cause, and engages only in a talent contest²⁰.

¹⁸ *Quum annis iam aliquot totus Graecanicis in litteris fuerim, Ricarde charissime, nuper quo cum litteris Latinis redirem in gratiam, Latine declamare coepi, idque impulsore Thoma Moro (EE 191.1-3; translated by R.A.B. Mynors and D.F.S. Thompson, CWE, vol. 2, p. 112).*

¹⁹ *sed uti cum amico omnium dulcissimo, quicum libenter soleo seria ludicraque miscere, in hac ingeniorum palaestra quasi colluctarer; idque feci eo libentius quod magnopere cupiam hoc exercitii genus, quo nullum aliud aequae frugiferum, in ludis nostris aliquando instaurari Nostram declamationem ita leges ut eam me pauculis diebus lusisse cogites, non scripsisse. (EE 191.15-28. CWE, Vol. 2, p. 113.)*

²⁰ *argumentum fictum, quod exercendae dictionis gratia tractatur in utramque partem ... Qui declamationem profitetur, ipse sibi fidem abrogat, nec potest nisi de ingenio periclitari. From Erasmus' Appendix de scriptis Iodoci Clithovei, LB 9,812F-813A. Cited in The*

“Who does not know”, Erasmus writes in answer to a critic of his declamation on matrimony, “that declamations treat fictitious themes for the sake of exercising one’s capacity? The Greeks witness this fact better than we do by their word for it, μελέται, ‘training exercises’ as it were”²¹. Craig Thompson comments:

about the definition of *declamatio* he was surely correct. The essential fact about *declamatio* is that the author professedly commits himself to an *imagined, fictive* argument and thereby claims immunity from being taken literally²².

Chomarat’s survey of Erasmian declamation titles²³ fits what we find generally in comparing the *DS* with surrounding literature; there are plenty of general questions (e.g. should one marry), specific imaginary court cases, contemporary historical events, or on occasion (such as with Libanius, Sopatros, and Isocrates) re-creations of figures from past history pondering options or considering large political ideas. But in none of Erasmus’ declamations do the elements of richly authenticated ancient historical context, systematic breadth of development, dramatic situation, and pedagogical attention to political matters come simultaneously into play as they do with the *DS*.

Vives’ introduction to the *Pro Noverca*, his lone surviving full-dress *controversia*, also throws the *DS* into relief²⁴. His composition here is in the bantering vein of the *Tyrannicida* speeches, to which he refers²⁵. His posture, in the preface (pp. 484-7), of an unwilling victim of More’s insistence opens the way to much self-deprecation and some comedy. He trembles at the prospect of pitting his miserable skills against the great ‘Quintilian’, like a weak-kneed net fighter sent out in gladiatorial combat against a Thracian brute. Only friendship drives him on, along

Complete Works of St. Thomas More, Vol. III, Pt. 1 (New Haven, 1974), edited by Craig Thompson, p. xxxv. Cited hereafter as Thompson.

²¹ “*Quis ... nescit declamationes exercitandi ingenii gratia in fictis themis versari? Quod Graeci magis ipso vocabulo testantur, μελέτας eas appellantes, quasi dicas exercitamenta*”. Erasmus, *Apologia pro declamatione matrimonii*, LB, 9, 108A. Quoted by Thompson, p. xxxv.

²² Op. cit., p. xxxv; emphases Thompson’s.

²³ Jacques Chomarat, *Grammaire et Rhétorique chez Érasme* (Paris, 1981), II, 932-34.

²⁴ *VOO* II.484-500.

²⁵ *VOO* II.485. Further evidence that he was familiar with the bilingual Lucian by Erasmus and More from which the *Tyrannicida* comes is that in his commentary on Augustine’s *De Civitate Dei* 2.7, he quotes from More’s translation of Lucian’s *Menippus*. See Thompson, p. xxx, n. 1.

with the reassurance that when Thomas needed someone to help explicate the Quintilianic speech to his children, he deemed Vives worthy of this formidable challenge. Thus Vives will mobilize his verbose clumsiness to challenge this master, cautioning that any praise or blame for the performance should be hung not on him, but on the friend who made him do it. There is no reason to disbelieve the 1521 date given the *Pro Noverca* in the *Declamationes Sex* of 1538; thus not long after the testily defensive 1520 Preface to the *DS*, in which Vives extols both the polish of his speeches and the wealth of his talent, we are expected to believe he regards himself as an inept bungler. What we are actually seeing is two distinct approaches to declamation identified by Vives. Here he has crossed over from the lofty conception which he applied to declamation in the *DS*, to engage in the comparatively lighter view of it which we find in the above quotations culled from Erasmus²⁶.

Isocrates' *Nicocles* and *Areopagiticus* were translated by Vives in 1523²⁷. In the *Nicocles*, Isocrates adopts the person of the Cypriot king of that name, who outlines the duties of citizens in a monarchy. Like its companion piece, the *To Nicocles*, which was an exhortation to princely excellence, it is a compendium of edifying aphorisms. Erasmus' translation of the *To Nicocles* appeared in the Basel 1516 edition of his *Institutio Principis Christiani*: perhaps Vives' concern with Isocrates' royal acquaintance owes something to this fact. In any event, the impact of these speeches, as well as of the *Areopagiticus* (on the duties of citizens in a democracy), springs primarily from discursive argumentation, and not from the implicit lessons of an ongoing political crisis, as in the *DS*. The aphoristic, admonitory tone of the Isocratean speeches resembles that of the *IPC* (see further below, pp. 139, 143-44), and hence of the kind of political discussion from which Vives chooses quite deliberately to vary in the *DS*.

²⁶ Not that the subject matter of the *Tyrannicida*, is completely impertinent to More; see Thompson (above, n. 20), pp. xxxviii, xxxix, 149-52. But it is clear that seriousness of content is not a factor in the *Tyrannicida* or the *Pro Noverca* as it is in the *DS*; hence the usefulness of these pieces in clarifying the distinctive nature of the latter. See Uwe Baumann, "Thomas More and the Classical Tyrant", *Moreana* 86 (July 1985), 108-121, esp. 113-116, called to my attention by Dr. van der Poel.

²⁷ *VOO* V.1-61. On Isocrates' influence in the Renaissance see Lucia Gualdo Rosa, *La fede nella "Paideia": Aspetti della fortuna Europea di Isocrate nei secoli XV e XVI* (Rome, 1984).

Let us conclude this part of the discussion by referring back to Vives' claim:

I find it all the more astonishing that few declamations, indeed almost none, are left us from those times, even though the people of that era not only delivered them orally, but wrote them down as well. ... Now, long afterward, I have resurrected this interrupted (or better, defunct) branch of study for my personal benefit. For I have written several pieces as dramatizations, some for one purpose and others for others; most recently on the dictatorship of Lucius Sulla, a topic which Quintilian indicates was often in use among declaimers of that age²⁸.

Vives cannot have meant that he was rescuing declamation from universal desuetude; it was in copious use for various purposes. If, however, we take him to refer to completely elaborated reconstruction of ancient topics as the ancients pursued them, "preparing for all life's activities by depth of thought and equipping themselves for experience by weighty apothegms and examples" (paraphrasing from *DS* 317)²⁹, we may see how the *DS* contrast quite clearly with other literature of his time.

2. Quintilian, Sallustian Editions, and Erasmus' *Christian Prince*

We now pass to three sources to which, the evidence suggests, Vives paid calculated attention in the development of this remarkable series of declamations; Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*, the early editions of Sallust, and Erasmus' *Institutio Principis Christiani*.

Quintilian's *Institutio*, particularly Book Three, lies prominently in the background of the *DS*. Hinkle notes his advice that students may profit from learning by heart others' compositions rather than their own:

For though I strongly approve of boys writing compositions and would have them spend as much time as possible over such tasks, I had much rather that for the purpose of learning by heart passages

²⁸ *quo magis miror adeo raras aut paene nullas ad nos venisse ab illis temporibus declamationes, cum illi non dicerent modo, sed scriberent quoque. ... Ego vero intermissam iam olim, seu verius intermortuam hanc studiorum partem privatim ad meam utilitatem revocavi; nam per prosopopoeias scripsi non pauca, alia alias, nuperrime vero de dictatura Lucii Sullae, quod argumentum frequens inter declamatores illius aevi fuisse ... Fabius Quintilianus significat ...* (*DS* 317-8, from the 1538 dedication.)

²⁹ *ingenium ... instruitur magnis rationibus ad actiones omnes vitae, tum sententiis et exemplis gravissimis ad usum rerum.*

should be selected from the orators or historians or any other works that may be deserving of such attention. For it is better exercise for the memory to learn the words of others than it is to learn one's own ...³⁰

It is highly probable that Vives considers his *DS* in the class of works described above. As noted earlier, his own boasts about the pieces and his obvious pleasure at the encouragement of Erasmus and other friends invite this assumption³¹. Details, such as Vives' allusion to *Inst.* 3.1.14 (on Aristotle competing with Isocrates as a teacher of rhetoric: cf. *DS* 324) and 3.8.53 (the popularity of Sulla's dilemma as a declamatory topic: cf. *DS* 317-8), confirm the sense that he has Quintilian's Third Book in mind.

The *DS* echo *Inst.* 3.8 in various particulars. The first is sensitivity to the appropriateness of a proemium (*Inst.* 3.8.7-13). Fundanus in *DS* I ignores the proem, thus emphasizing his personal closeness to Sulla; while his opponent Fonteius, showing in *DS* II that he feels he is on the defensive, offers a careful prooemium, to court both the good will of his opponent and the attention of the dictator. *Narrationes* are also absent from this pair of speeches (see *Inst.* 3.8.10 on their expendability in *privata deliberatio*). Vives takes full advantage of the potential of *comparatio* (cf. *Inst.* 3.8.34) by his use of the conflict of persuader and dissuader. The advice rendered in *DS* I-II in view of Sulla's despicable character and record embodies nicely the principles found in *Inst.* 3.8.38-45, that if we are addressing someone immoral, we do not appeal to the path of virtue or a better way of life, but to the prospect of his glory and the approval of the populace, or, if this fails, we find some way to inspire fear (39-41); and that when urging a dishonorable course we should always make it out to be honorable, for no one is so evil as to want to seem evil. Fundanus and Fonteius both resort to dreadful scenarios to rouse Sulla's fear; the former foresees bloody vengeance

³⁰ *Nam ut scribere pueros plurimumque esse in hoc opere plane velim, sic ediscere electos ex oratoribus vel historiis aliove quo genere dignorum ea cura voluminum locos, multo magis suadeam. Nam et exercebitur acrius memoria aliena complectendo quam sua ...* (*Inst.* 2.7.2-3. Translated by H.E. Butler, in *Quintilian* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980), I, 263. Loeb Classical Library). See Anna L.E. Hinkle, *Juan Luis Vives' Fourth Sullan Declamation: A Rhetorical and Historical Commentary* (unpublished M.A. thesis, Texas Tech University, 1984), p. 7. See Quintilian's related advice (*Inst.* 1.2.26) on students' imitation of their master's work, cited above.

³¹ *DS* 318,327. See also Vives, *De disciplinis* IV.4 (*VOO* VI, 362), and discussion below, pp. 150-51.

against a living ex-dictator's children, the latter conjures up his *damnatio memoriae* after death along with the massacre of his followers and the dispossession of his family³². Fundanus advises the dishonorable course; Fonteius, whose side Vives espouses, advocates the honorable action³³. Accordingly, Fundanus makes the (actually odious) desire to retain power a quite divine instinct; did anyone ever hear of a god relinquishing power voluntarily, and does anything render a mortal more godlike than the possession of ultimate power³⁴? Further, his loyalty to his country is demanded; who would be a blacker traitor than Sulla, if he should abdicate and leave supremacy in Rome to be fought over by the young, ambitious, unscrupulous vultures who are eagerly awaiting his departure³⁵? Fonteius, in urging Sulla's withdrawal from office, concentrates on his reputation, on how the Romans will forget his past indiscretions in their enthusiasm for his magnanimous final act of moderation, and on how they will sing his praises to their descendants³⁶. Much more is made of this argument than of the proposition that it would be the right thing to do. And finally, in *DS* I-II, Vives observes Quintilian's guideline (*Inst.* 3.8.59-60, 65) that the *suasoria* should be *simplex*, *gravis*, and free of wild, frenzied openings; with some departures, these speeches are generally subdued, in keeping with the private forum which they assume.

Furthermore, Vives' *DS* capitalize, as we shall see, on the closeness between rhetoric and historiography to which Quintilian occasionally alludes. *Inst.* 2.7.2-3 specifically recommends rote learning of passages from history as well as oratory. Quintilian asserts that acquaintance with both *orationes* and *historiae* will confirm the judgment that the *suasoria* should be *simplex* and *gravis*, and forms a hospitable place for exempla (*Inst.* 3.8.65-67). And he observes both the usefulness of *ubertas historiae* to the declaimer and the connections between historically specific and topically general declamations (*Inst.* 10.5.13-16). But for his exploitation of the oratory/history link in the *DS*, Vives finds even more substantial warrant in another deeply influential resource.

When we examine the invective of Marcus Aemilius Lepidus found

³² *DS* 347-48, 365.

³³ As seen in Vives' intention of warning Ferdinand, his young dedicatee, against rule by fear. Recall *DS* 318-21, and see below, pp. 138-39.

³⁴ *DS* 339-40. See further below, p. 141.

³⁵ P. 335.

³⁶ P. 366.

among the fragments of Sallust's *Histories*, which inspired Vives' Fourth Declamation and to some extent his whole collection, we are led to the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century printed editions of Sallust, with which Vives undoubtedly would have been familiar. These editions regularly included not only the *Bellum Catilinae* and the *Bellum Jugurthinum*, but also an assortment of other materials, many of them oratorical, and some but not all by Sallust. Typical is the *Opera* of 1513 (Lyon: ed. J. de Platea) with Badius Ascensius' notes³⁷, in which the *Cat.* and *Jug.* were followed by:

3. Porcius Latro's declamation against Catiline
4. Philip Beroaldus' *commendatio* of Cicero's invectives
5. Five (sic) invectives against Catiline by Cicero
(including the authentic Catilinarians)
6. Two responses by Catiline
7. Sallust's invective against Cicero
8. Cicero's reply to the same
9. Lepidus' invective against Sulla
10. L. Marcius Philippus' speech against Lepidus
11. C. Cotta's speech to the people
12. C. Licinius Macer's speech to the people
13. Pompey's epistle to the Senate
14. Mithridates' epistle to Arsaces
- 15.-16. Two orations *de republica* to Caesar

Persuasive pieces extracted from historical documents — and, in the case of nos. 9-12, authentic re-creations, composed by Sallust and lifted from his *Historiae* — are richly exemplified. But most significant is that no. 3, attributed to Porcius Latro, the renowned declaimer and teacher of rhetoric (55 B.C.-A.D. 4), is considered fit for inclusion despite the acknowledgment that it is a frankly anachronistic declamatory exercise³⁸. Badius remarks:

This is not a true oration but a declamation. It was the custom for youths to practice the art of speaking by prosecuting some noble,

³⁷ The following remarks about the contents of these editions apply also to Venice editions of 1491, 1509, 1521, and 1539, which I have consulted.

³⁸ Modern editions: M. Porcius Latro, *Declamatio in L. Sergium Catilinam*, edited by H. Kristofersen (Göteborg, 1928), and *Declamatio in Lucium Sergium Catilinam: Eine Schuldeclamation aus der römischen Kaiserzeit*, edited by Heinrich Zimmerer (München, 1888). I cite by Kristofersen's paragraphs.

whose condemnation would redound to their greater glory. But as I have undertaken to explicate Sallust, I will say a few words about Latro³⁹.

He then treats Latro's declamation to the same phrase-by-phrase commentary accorded to Sallust's own works⁴⁰. Latro clearly adopts Cicero's persona in the speech. At one of the remarks which demonstrate this (*Diximus equidem paucis ante diebus*, etc., 7 ed. Kristofersen, where the speaker uses the first person), Badius has this to say:

At this point it appears to be not a declamation, but a genuine oration before judges, or, to be more accurate, (?one previously delivered by him); for we do not specify or allege what was then going on during the declamation, except insofar as the declamation masquerades as a real speech⁴¹.

Badius' Latin, though aimed at a youthful audience, is not entirely clear; but he apparently regards it as a fault (or at least a surprise) that the declaimer's assumption of another's persona is so explicit, and then defends the tactic because it enhances verisimilitude! Perhaps we see him caught between the conflicting demands he has put on himself by including this speech in the first place; faithful reporting of historical sources versus presentation of a clearly labeled later fiction. In any case, the point for our purpose is that the wall between strict history and declamatory fancy has been breached in the Sallustian editions.

The loose attitude toward historical reconstruction found in early sixteenth century Sallustian editions shows up in another writer preoccupied with Sallust: the youthful Constantius Felicius Durantinus, author of *De Coniuratione L. Catilinae Liber Unus*⁴². This is a retelling of the conspiracy in simple, lively Latin, framed in Sallust's narrative but incorporating material from Cicero and other sources. In a preface

³⁹ *Nec est vera oratio sed declamatio. Moris autem erat ut iuvenes sese exercuerunt in arte dicendi accusando quemvis nobilem: quo condemnato maiorem gloriam assequerantur. Ceterum quia Sallustium tm (= tantum?) explanandum recepi in hunc pauca admodum dicam.* (Fol. 98r.)

⁴⁰ The quarrel over authorship of this piece is less significant than the fact that the speaker is here accepted as Latro and still Badius does not mind preserving the speech in company with authentic documents.

⁴¹ *Hoc verbo videtur esse non declamatio: sed vera oratio coram iudicibus habita aut certe ꝑ aliam prius ab eo habitam ꝑ: non enim citamus seu allegamus que per declamationem tm (= tantum?) acta sunt: nisi quatenus declamatio sese veram orationem simulat.* The passage would read more easily if *aliam* and *habitam* were in the nominative.

⁴² Rome, Jacobus Mazochius, 1518. Cited in Zimmerer (see above, n.38), p. 30. I have not seen the 1518 edition, but have consulted the Leipzig (ed. Michael Blum) of 1535.

Durantinus proposes to fill Sallustian gaps and rectify Sallust's inadequate valuation of Cicero. He alludes briefly to the speeches he presents:

Public assembly speeches are also interspersed, closely fitted to the situation and the characters. I also offer oratory which in the main proceeds rhythmically, and a clear sequence in the explication of the narrative⁴³.

Of the sixty-one brief numbered sections of the *Coniuratio*, ten are *orationes*, five of them authentic texts (e.g. the First Catilinarian), two materially rewritten versions of authentic speeches, and three, like Vives' *DS* but far shorter, original compositions of Durantinus (e.g. Marcus Petreius' exhortation to his soldiers before battle, merely mentioned at Sall. *Cat.* 59.5). Ancient sources, though labeled, are indiscriminately presented along with Durantinus' own oratorical compositions, which are not specified as such. I know of no evidence that Vives was aware of these pieces; but it is noteworthy that in the case of Durantinus also, interest in late Republican affairs and Sallustian narrative gave birth to a composition showing such resemblances to Vives' own, with dramatic and narrative continuity but without Vives' fullness of oratorical development or explicit didactic intention. Vives gives us an alternative to Durantinus' execution, emulating the declamatory practice of ancient historians themselves, re-creating events with intense ethical involvement and presenting them in chronological sequence through the ample speeches, complete with vestigial intervening narratives in the form of the *argumenta* of the 1538 edition⁴⁴.

The dangers of rule by fear create the dramatic crisis in the *Sullan Declamations*⁴⁵. The treatment of the same theme in the *IPC* of Erasmus deserves remark: not because I propose to survey all the possible Vivesian antecedents in the vast literature on tyranny or the *speculum principis* tradition, but because of the evidence that Vives had the *IPC* in mind. Not only was the treatise, originally addressed to Charles V, later re-presented to Vives' dedicatee Ferdinand; but Vives, as noted, refers to it in his 1520 dedication, and hints that he will

⁴³ *Interponuntur etiam conciones, valde temporibus et personis accommodatae. His accedit oratio plerumque numerose cadens, et explicandarum historiarum non intricatus ordo.*

⁴⁴ A.J. Woodman, *Rhetoric in Classical Historiography* (Portland, OR, 1988) is a stimulating and useful study of the creativity of the ancient historians themselves in devising speeches to go with their narratives.

⁴⁵ Cf. George, "The Sullan Declamations: Vives' Intentions" (cited above, n. 1), p. 57.

perform a task similar to that of the *IPC*, but will do so in a different way⁴⁶. Also, a comparison of related passages in the *DS* and the *IPC* will illustrate handily the advantages of Vives' literary strategy as an alternative to that of Erasmus. While remarks on tyranny are strewn through the *IPC*, observation of one section in particular, focusing on the contrast between king and tyrant, discloses several conceptual similarities to the *DS*⁴⁷. Consider the following:

Whoever wants to bestow on himself the title of prince and wants to escape the hated name of tyrant must win it for himself by benevolent action and not through fear and threats. For it means nothing for someone to be called prince by flatterers or by victims of oppression, or to be called father of the country if he has in fact been a tyrant, or even to be worshiped by his own age if posterity disagrees. You can see with how much hatred posterity records the malpractices of once-dreaded kings whom nobody dared to offend with so much as a nod when they were alive, and you see how readily even their very names are detested⁴⁸.

In the *IPC*, this is but part of a parade of aphorisms; in the *DS*, Vives chooses it as a theme to pursue at length. Sulla, too late to profit by the Erasmian caution, is plunged into a fearful dilemma. Fundanus describes one of its horns in intensified form: if the tyrant wishes to abdicate, the backlash will ensue not merely in later generations, but hot on the heels of his loss of power (*DS* 335). When his terrorized subjects are no longer in his grip, their praise will instantaneously turn to condemnation. On the other hand, observes Fonteius with equal ominousness, the dictator who perpetuates his rule unnecessarily will incur the disgrace that his Roman Republican predecessors shunned when they made it a point of honor to abdicate as soon as possible (p. 357). Vives expands

⁴⁶ Vives chooses Ferdinand for his dedication upon learning "that you are a most assiduous reader, especially of books that impart the skill and science of ruling republics and kingdoms and of living well and happily" (*Te diligentissime libros, atque eos praecipue qui gubernandi civitates et regna quaeque bene beateque vivendi peritiam rationemque docent, evolvere*, p. 320).

⁴⁷ *IPC* 152-63.

⁴⁸ *Qui sibi principis titulum volet asserere et invisum tyranni nomen cupiet effugere non terroribus ac minis, sed benefactis id sibi vindicet oportet. Neque enim refert vel assentatoribus, vel ab oppressis appellari principem, appellari patrem patriae, si re ipsa fuerit tyrannus. Et si maxime illi aduletur sua aetas, at non assentabitur posteritas. Vides formidabilium olim regum, quos vivos nemo vel nutu audebat offendere, quanto odio posteri celebrent malefacta, quanta libertate detestentur ipsa etiam nomina.* (*IPC* 160, lines 731-7; translated by Cheshire and Heath, *CWE* Vol. 27, pp. 228-229).

one of Erasmus' brief bits of advice into a complete dramatic scenario, and all the resources of the successful declaimer and the careful student of historical sources are marshaled to illustrate the lesson by envisioning the end of an actual historical crisis. In addition to using the "accumulation of proofs" approach so rightly recognized by Noreña, Vives employs the unfolding drama as a vehicle for communicating a principle forcefully and imaginatively⁴⁹. "He who is feared by all must himself be in fear of many", says Erasmus, "and he whom the majority of people want dead cannot be safe"⁵⁰. And when we turn to Vives' *DS* we find that this is the underlying reality which Fundanus and Fonteius must skirt as long and carefully as possible in *Declamations I and II*⁵¹.

Other themes occur in both humanists' compositions. Erasmus comments on the abhorrence of glory:

He who does not demand respect receives more respect than anyone else; no one is more willingly obeyed than he who does not require obedience; for nobody do people pour out their wealth more readily than for him who they think will devote it to the public advantage and return it with interest⁵².

The idea is echoed in *DS* 356-7, where Fonteius recalls how the Romans responded enthusiastically to public servants who showed themselves able to decline power that was at their disposal.

In another instance of a theme shared between the *DS* and the *IPC*, Erasmus discusses the divine character of ruling power:

In his *Oeconomicus*, Xenophon writes that it is somewhat godlike, rather than human, to rule over free men with their consent. For ruling over dumb animals or people forcibly enslaved is menial, but man is a godlike animal, and free twice over: once by nature, and

⁴⁹ Cf. Noreña, ref. in n. 2 above. Despite the dramatic qualities of the *DS* series, it is noteworthy that the tradition of Renaissance Latin drama up to 1520 is strikingly barren not only of any probable sources of inspiration for the speeches, but of any interest generally in historical Roman Republican themes. Cf. Leicester Bradner, "The Latin Drama of the Renaissance (1340-1640)", *Studies in the Renaissance* 4 (1957), 31-70.

⁵⁰ *Multos timeat oportet, qui timetur ab omnibus. Et tutus esse non potest, quem maxima pars hominum cupiat extinctum.* (*IPC* 162, ll. 828-829; translated by Cheshire and Heath, *CWE*, vol. 27, p. 231.) Derived from Sen. *Dial.* 1.2.3.

⁵¹ See "The Sullan Declamations: Vives' Intentions", (cited above, n. 1), p. 57.

⁵² *Nemini plus defertur honoris, quam qui non exigit honorem; nulli libentius obsequuntur homines, quam qui non requirit obsequium; in neminem libentius effundunt suas opes, quam in eum, cui commissas sciunt ad publicam vtilitatem cum fœnore redituras.* (*IPC* 167, ll. 999-1002; *CWE*, Vol. 27, p. 236.)

again by his laws. In the same way, it is a sign of the highest and clearly godlike virtue for a king so to moderate his rule that the people feel it as a benefaction and not as enslavement⁵³.

Vives has each of his protagonists carry in a different direction the notion that it is a divine experience to rule over free and willing subjects. Fundanus suitably perverts the idea; in his version, the holding of supreme power per se renders one comparable to the gods, regardless of the disposition of the subordinates:

To me, the man who comes closest to the life and virtues of the gods seems in the last analysis the wisest and hence the happiest. But a good part of the felicity of the gods springs from power...⁵⁴

Fonteius, on the other hand, exploits the negative side of the sentiment — namely, that holding power over *unwilling* subjects means trouble — and specifies the Romans as the free people who before all others will not tolerate tyranny:

But if in any nation it is all great tedium and unbearable nuisance to rule without the acquiescence of subjects, in the case of the Roman people it is not merely heavy and harsh but extremely dangerous as well. For all other peoples are capable of playing the slave and abiding tyrants; the Roman people alone does not stand servitude⁵⁵.

By implication, the Romans' reaction is virtuous, and the ruler-subject relationship they compel is presented as a model by Vives. Ferdinand sees the best popular behavior in the attitude of the Romans.

The *IPC* and the *DS* both address the danger of profligacy or laxity in the ruler's life. Erasmus presents, and Vives' Fonteius modifies, the commonplace of the incompatibility between effective ruling and a dissipated (or leisurely) lifestyle.

... where does a prince find the leisure, I ask you, for wasting whole days on end, and indeed most of his life, in gambling, dancing,

⁵³ *Xenophon in oeconomico libello scribit divinum potius quam humanum imperare liberis ac volentibus. Sordidum enim imperare mutis animantibus aut coactis mancipiis. At homo divinum est animal ac bis liberum, primum natura, deinde legibus. Ideoque summae virtutis est ac plane divinae regem sic temperare imperium, ut beneficium sentiat populus, servitutem non sentiat. (IPC 163-64, ll. 869-73; CWE, Vol. 27, p. 232).*

⁵⁴ *mihi vero ille demum et sapientissimus et perinde felicissimus videtur, qui ut maxime potest ad deorum vitam virtutesque accedit; atqui horum bona felicitatis pars in potentia sita est... (P. 339).*

⁵⁵ *Quod si in aliquo populo (imperium) plenum taedii ac intolerabilium molestiarum est, sine bona venia eorum qui subditi sunt praeesse, in hoc Romano non modo grave et asperum, sed etiam periculosissimum est. Alii enim omnes servire possunt, et tyrannos pati: hic unus servitutis impatiens est. (P. 356).*

hunting, fooling about, and other even more trivial trivialities than these⁵⁶?

Vives' Fonteius delivers a similar caution as he addresses his opponent in Declamation II, speaking of Sulla:

Tell me, will he be free of fear as he hears that this or that army and its general are in defection and conspiracy, that this or that nation is fitting out a fleet and assembling a host, that one or another citizen (I do not use names) ... is ready for revolution and engaging in clandestine plots, brewing civil wars with others of his ilk? ... Do you want the dictator to sleep through the night, enjoy conversations with his friends at midday and gratify himself, take an afternoon nap, refresh himself later with a pleasant walk, and have dinner replete with discourses, jests and other things which alone refresh and rejuvenate one who is old, and then let the meal run far into the night? ... Tell me, Fundanus, ... do you consider it seemly for a Roman dictator, for whom it is impermissible even to make a single jest with propriety, to spend his life surrounded by jests, games, banquets, stage players and thespians⁵⁷?

Fonteius modifies both the nature of the evils the prince is ignoring and the pastimes into which he falls. The euphemized late-night "other things" illustrate especially how Vives rearranges the entire communication to fit the circumstances of the aging, but still formidable, dictator's dilemma.

A striking contrast between the *DS* and the *IPC* emerges owing to the emphasis Erasmus lays upon the fact that he is a Christian speaking to a Christian, in view of which higher standards are to be expected both of him as an adviser and of the addressee as a man of action:

⁵⁶ *vnde, queso, principi sit ocium totos fallendi dies, imo perdendi maximam vitae partem alea choreis venatibus morionibus et his etiam nugacioribus nugis? Subuertitur respublica factionibus, bellis affligitur, latrociniorum plena sunt omnia, expilationibus immodicis plebes ad famem et laqueum adigitur. Opprimuntur ab iniquis proceribus tenues; corrupti magistratus non quod ius est, sed quod libet faciunt et inter haec velut ociosus tum alea ludit princeps.* (*IPC* 169-70, ll. 83-89: *CWE*, Vol. 27, p. 239).

⁵⁷ *Poterit is inquam trepidus audire hunc aut illum exercitum cum suo imperatore deficere et coniurare: hanc vel illam gentem adornare classem, cogere milites: hunc aut illum civem, neminem nominabo, ... rebus studere novis, clandestina inire consilia, coquere cum aliis suis similibus bellum civile? ... Vis tu dictatorem solidam dormire noctem? In medios dies cum amicis suaviter confabulari, et se oblectari? Post meridiem invitare somnum? Ad serum deambulationibus sese reficere amoenibus? Coenam et confabulationes, iocos, reliquaque quibus solis ista senilis recreatur ac repubescit aetas, in multam noctem producere? ... An tu Fundane ... decere putas dictatorem Romanum, quem nec iocum unum dicere fas est, inter iocos, ludos, convivia, histriones, scaenicos, aetatem agere?* (Pp. 359-61).

Do not let it escape you that what is said in the gospels or in the apostolic writings about the need to endure masters, obey officials, do honour to the king, and pay taxes is to be taken as referring to pagan princes, since at that time there were not yet any Christian princes. ... It is the right of a pagan prince to oppress his people by fear, to compel them to do humiliating tasks, to dispossess them, to plunder their goods and finally make martyrs of them: that is a pagan prince's right. You do not want the Christian prince to have the same, do you? Or will his rightful power seem to be reduced if these things are denied him?⁵⁸

The dramatic genre in which Vives chooses to work, re-creating figures from a pre-Christian era, results in political admonition at a more generally human level. He explores the natural consequences that will visit a terrorist ruler who holds sway over any self-respecting people, regardless of religious imperatives. Sulla and his contemporaries illustrate the self-defeating penalties of tyrannical abuse, which are implicitly (as reflected in the dedicatory epistle) to be seen as dangers in Ferdinand's career just as in the tumultuous last years of the Roman Republic. As in Vives' commentary on the *Dream of Scipio* (1520; revised 1521), the pagans' experience provides examples on the human level that will enhance a Christian's understanding of the universe of human affairs. In the light of Vives' enterprise, Erasmus' remark here appears ill-advised, or at least careless; perhaps it is a preoccupation with Roman imperial persecutors of Christians that has deflected the latter into a denial that rulers are held to responsible behavior outside the Christian ambience. To Vives, meanwhile, the ruler's responsibilities spring from his humanity rather than his Christianity.

A corollary of Vives' choice of genre is a singular contrast in the two works' approach to the reader. At times the writer of the *IPC* speaks not to the royal pupil but to his teacher, as for instance in "instructor's manual" passages like those which give directions for the management of the prince in his earliest years. Elsewhere, what Erasmus offers is advice which one imagines the prince himself reading directly, or having

⁵⁸ *Ne te fugiat, quicquid in evangelicis aut apostolicis litteris de tolerandis dominis de parendo praefectis de honorandis regibus de petendo tributo dictum est, id ad ethnicos principes esse referendum, quod ea tempestate nondum essent principes ulli Christiani. ... Ius est ethnico principi suos metu premere, ad serviles operas adigere, exigere possessionibus, expilare bonis; denique martyres facere ius est ethnici principis. Num idem vis esse Christiano? Aut ius illius imminutum videbitur, si minus haec illi liceant?* (*IPC* 166, ll. 960-3, 981-4; *CWE*, Vol. 27, pp. 235-36.) Cf. also *IPC* 169, ll. 71-73 on Christ as the ideal model for the ruler.

expounded directly to him. This is not the case with the *DS*. The contents and the introduction do not alternate between technical advice for the trainer and immediate philosophical wisdom. Rather, there is a dramatic and continuous tissue of events out of which the lessons and the examples of eloquence will arise, i.e. the presentation of *exempla* accompanied by introductory material such as the Argument to the first two declamations. We think again of the design of Vives' commentary on the *Dream of Scipio*, where the listener is invited to lose himself in imaginative participation rather than deal with constant reminders that an academic exercise is being administered. This detail, like so many others, reminds us of the chief and overarching contrast between these works with such similar ends: Erasmus is the Isocratean reciter of discursive aphorisms, Vives is the dramatic creator of situations which speak for themselves.

In exploring and surpassing the suggestions he found in Quintilian's Third Book, the editions of Sallust of his day, and the *Institutio principis Christiani* of Erasmus, Vives embodies his insistence on realism in a manner of composition that hews faithfully to the details provided by the ancient sources, whose reliability he accepts whole. In this regard he is a creature of his era, which espoused the attitude toward ancient history texts described by Momigliano:

Roman history had been written by Livy, Tacitus, Florus, Suetonius, the *Historia Augusta*. There was no reason why it should be written again, because in the main it could be written only as Livy, Tacitus, Florus and Suetonius had written it. ... When ancient history was studied for its own sake, independently of antiquarian research and universal history, it was meant either to provide materials for moral and political reflection or to help the understanding of texts read primarily for stylistic reasons. The truth and completeness of the traditional accounts was hardly questioned⁵⁹.

In discussing Vives, we may add Plutarch, Appian, Sallust, Valerius Maximus and others to Momigliano's list. The character of historical writing as a tissue of alternations between narrative and speeches, established firmly among the major ancient historians, is the source of the easy connection between declamation and history.

The 1520 and 1538 dedications indicate how Vives saw himself as using historical sources. After listing the political lessons to be learned, he says,

⁵⁹ Arnaldo Momigliano, "Ancient History and the Antiquarian", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 13 (1950), 290-91.

In the following declamations you will read of these and many other related matters, which ancient philosophers have argued and explained in lengthy tomes, the fruit of their supreme gifts and ample wisdom. I am sure that these considerations bear upon the role which you are now assuming and which will be bestowed upon you more fully as time passes⁶⁰.

I allude to all these things in the following declamations. What is communicated in other works by precept is tendered here by examples⁶¹.

The earlier version contrasts the *DS* with discursive ancient tomes, implying that the speeches will suit the royal reader better. The second comes to a tidier point: *praecepta* found elsewhere (as in the *IPC*?) are converted here to *exempla*. History supplies *exempla*, and Vives offers them in a setting which exploits the dramatic potential of declamation. He uses the convergence between history and oratory on which we have already seen Quintilian's remarks (p. 135 above).

The verisimilitude to which Vives aspires may be compared to that for which the greatest of the ancient historians themselves strove in their speeches, such as in the Sallustian oration of Lepidus which provided a springboard for the concept of the *DS*⁶². A remark by Erasmus acknowledges Vives' success:

He argues for both sides, but is so convincing that he appears to have persuaded himself before dealing with the reader. ... Nowhere does he get bogged down into commonplaces, nowhere does he stray from the issue⁶³.

The comment certainly does not mean that Vives completely eschews *loci communes*, or universal topics; these are an inevitable substratum of classical rhetorical prose. *Desidere*, "get bogged down", may mean

⁶⁰ *Haec aliaque his similia permulta, quae longis voluminibus a veteribus philosophis summis ingeniis magna sapientia disputata atque explicata in his declamationibus leges, non mihi aliena videntur ab ea persona et quam iam nunc sustines, et quae tibi procedente tempore amplior imponetur.* (P. 321; 1520 edition.)

⁶¹ *Haec omnia in his declamationibus adumbrantur, et quae alibi praeceptis traduntur, hic exemplis.* (P. 319; 1538 edition). Dr. van der Poel notes in a letter that in 15th and 16th century literature on the practical use of annalistic historiography, "the point is made frequently that historiography provides the *exempla* to the *praecepta* of moral philosophy".

⁶² See above, pp. 135-36.

⁶³ *Tractat utramque partem, sed tam probabiliter ut videatur sibi persuasisse prius quod suadet. ... Nusquam desidet in locis communibus, nusquam a causa digreditur.* (EE 1082.35-37, 39-40).

wandering so deeply into a *locus communis* as to produce passages that are too easily interchangeable to other speeches without modification. The added remark that he “never strays from the issue” is an intelligible followup. Vives develops *declamatio* into a dynamic genre which surpasses the original narrowly technical emphasis of the enterprise, and brings it into the same arena as the speeches of Sallust, Thucydides, and other historians, where the orations serve as material from which the perceptive reader may draw his own conclusions. The term *nusquam*, “nowhere”, in Erasmus’ remark may be an exaggeration, but not so much as it first seems. To take one example, the figure of the profligate and dissolute tyrant is found elsewhere, but here the Plutarchan details and the distinctive slants examined above make the villain of the *DS* uniquely Sulla. Or, to offer a contrast, we find in the third *Declamatio maior* of pseudo-Quintilian a scenario titled *Miles Marianus*. A military tribune of Marius attempts to debauch a soldier at the time of the Cimbric War; the soldier repulses and even kills the tribune, and is tried for murder before Marius. The composer could easily have made an issue of the specific situation, e.g. by associating the immorality of the tribune with Marius’ military reforms, which opened the army to the unpropertied lower classes, or to the leader’s status as a *novus homo*; but the case as it develops could be between anyone’s tribune and any enlisted man.

3. Vives’ Purposes

Thus far, I have argued that Vives’ ensemble contrasts strikingly with comparable orations at his disposal; that he takes up as a challenge Quintilian’s observation that the Sullan dictatorship offered scope for declamatory endeavor; that he distinguishes between lighthearted and serious uses for declamation; that the Sallustian invective by Lepidus against Sulla provides a modest inspiration; and that the Sallustian editions of his time showed a model of particular ease of relationship between history and creative declamation. But the form of the finished product is very much his own. He lets Quintilian guide his imagination, telling through speeches and eventually *argumenta* a dramatic story, in a spirit akin to that of the contemporary Sallustian editions. And his choice of genre signifies consideration and rejection of the aphoristic style of Erasmus’ *Institutio principis Christiani* as a tool for educating

his sovereign's brother. Our attention now turns to the small welter of reasons, not all compatible, which Vives gives for creating the *Sullan Declamations* in the first place. It is my hope that the above conclusions will assist us in sorting these purposes out. Vives talks about his motivation in three places; the two dedicatory letters (1520, 1538) to Ferdinand, and the Preface of 1520, which is not repeated in 1538⁶⁴. We find there the following ideas:

1. Declamation offers to mature and wise practitioners practice in seeking out and marshaling "arguments for handling public affairs, which must be sought and wrested from the midst of life, from a fund of practical experience, and from acquaintance with all of antiquity"⁶⁵. Ancient sages, realizing the value of public discourse, overshadowed modern "philosophers" because of their rhetorical facility.
2. These are private consolatory exercises, in which Vives flees to the days of the great Roman Republicans, escaping the tide of fools who in his own time have invaded not only the forum, but the *scholae* as well⁶⁶.
3. He writes only for the most learned and discriminating audience, which understands thoroughly the ground rules of declaiming and can appreciate his lofty style; these are polished pieces, in which he hopes to employ art that will conceal his art even from the astute observer⁶⁷.
4. Having first determined to choose no dedicatee, Vives later changed his mind and selected Ferdinand because of the youth's scholarly bent. (Ferdinand's fondness for Erasmus' *Institutio Principis Christiani* is specified in 1520.) Hence a future ruler in his mid-teens is a suitable audience for the *DS*⁶⁸.
5. Ferdinand will learn several valuable political lessons: proper princely behavior, the risks of ruling by fear, the importance of subjects'

⁶⁴ See n. 2 supra. The undated dedication in Majansius' edition appeared in 1520; the one dated 1520 appeared first in 1538.

⁶⁵ *argumenta quibus res civiles tractes, quae ex media vita, magnoque rerum usu, et totius antiquitatis cognitione petenda ... sunt.* 1520 Preface, p. 323; more briefly in the 1538 dedication, p. 317.

⁶⁶ 1520 Preface, p. 325; in the 1538 dedication he claims to be reviving a nearly dead art *privatim ad meam utilitatem*, p. 317.

⁶⁷ 1520 Preface, pp. 326-27.

⁶⁸ 1520 and 1538 dedications, pp. 318, 319-20.

good will, and the priority of the country's welfare over the prince's personal interest⁶⁹.

The goals described or implied are not in complete harmony. In some cases (compare # 3 with # 4) the incompatibility seems acute. At # 5, Ferdinand is the target of benefits which are described at # 1 as best suited to mature men. Vives declines ever to specify summarily a primary use for these declamations that reconciles the various purposes which he records⁷⁰.

I suggest that Vives himself was not clear, but that we may partially understand the matter if we hypothesize a process in which he took gradually fuller cognizance, and more complete advantage, of the potential of his own work. I propose three stages:

1. The initial composition, prior to publication, as alluded to in the 1520 preface. Here he pursues the primary, compatible objectives of withdrawing to the great old days and indulging his flair for convincing, historically authentic oratory, at which he knows (and Erasmus and others have assured him) he excels⁷¹. He betrays a nervous desire to show his virtuosity to his skeptical peers — probably Louvain colleagues who do not know, much less appreciate, ancient belles-lettres — and to challenge them to find flaws in his art. He champions declamation as an instrument for developing one's ability to engage in the most solemn community deliberations, and hence an exercise of a high order. In so doing he practices a form of declamation far more weighty than Erasmus' *jeux d'esprit* such as the comparatively frivolous translations of Libanius' declamations⁷².

2. Addition of the dedication, shortly before publication. Still in 1520. Having composed the declamations, and desiring to pay a compliment to Ferdinand (whose tutor Erasmus wanted him to become), he capitalizes on the presence in the speeches of powerful *exempla* of good and bad political behavior, which a receptive reader might recognize and appreciate regardless of his oratorical sophistication. Hence Ferdinand, who has the additional advantage of the learned

⁶⁹ 1520 and 1538 dedications: pp. 319, 321.

⁷⁰ Contreras oversimplifies when he says (*Seis Decl.*, p. xvi), "El intento de J.L. Vives no fué otro que escribir modelos pedagógicos para que los alumnos de las escuelas aprendiesen el arte de dar fuerza persuasoria a sus ideas". Josephine D. Jardine has been most helpful in discussing the varied purposes of the *DS* with me.

⁷¹ *EE* 917.

⁷² See above, pp. 128-129.

physician Juan de la Parra as an *enarrator*⁷³, is deemed suitable for Vives' first dedication to a prince. The allusion to the *IPC* is significant, as a token of his intention to teach political lessons; like Erasmus, he is writing *ad principem de principibus* (p. 318). The absence of *argumenta*, on the other hand, is perhaps an indication that the pedagogical use of the *DS* for Ferdinand is still an incomplete afterthought; in this regard, the ensemble unequipped with connecting remarks bears a formal resemblance, in shorter compass, to Cicero's *Philippics* or *Verrines*.

3. Re-edition. Late in life (1538), during a time of revision of various early works, Vives finds the *DS* worthy of renewed attention, in company with other *political* treatises⁷⁴. By the observation that he has resurrected a dead art, he accords explicit historical significance to the ensemble as well. In lieu of Erasmus' endorsement which had been printed in 1520 as a senior colleague's recommendation for a junior protégé, which now no longer suits the circumstances of the established Spanish scholar, Vives merely notes in passing that private circulation of the speeches led to encouragement by Erasmus and others⁷⁵. Aware of the need for background sketches for the *DS*, he responds to an old criticism of More's and supplies *argumenta* to fill in the chronological spaces⁷⁶. With this addition, the collection becomes less like a *Verrines*-style series and more akin to a connected historical narrative with primary focus on interspersed speeches. The significance of this development was observed above in our discussion of the character of the 16th century editions of Sallust and Durantinus' *De coniuratione Catilinae*. Winter, the 1538 publisher, cooperates with the addition of Lepidus' speech from Sallust's *Histories* in a few otherwise blank pages.

This hypothetical sequence is useful also in looking at Vives' brief and limited comments on declamation in the magisterial *De Disciplinis* of 1531. These comments agree most fully with what I have identified as the first stage of Vives' own attitude toward the *DS*⁷⁷. The small role given declamation in the overall scheme of the *De Disciplinis* accords

⁷³ *DS* 319-20; see Allen's note on *EE* 917 for the identity of the physician.

⁷⁴ The 1538 edition appears along with the *De praesenti statu Europae et bello Turcico diversa opuscula* and translations of Isocrates' orations *Areopagiticus* and *Nicocles*. The *Pro noverca* is the only piece in the volume which does not discuss politics. See A. Fontán, "La Política Europea en la perspectiva de Vives", in *Erasmus in Hispania: Vives in Belgio* (Leuven, 1986: Colloquia Europalia, Vol. I), pp. 31-35.

⁷⁵ 1538 Epistle, p. 318.

⁷⁶ *EE* 1106.107-9.

⁷⁷ *VOO* VI. 359-61.

with the sentiment in the 1520 *DS* Preface that declamation yields its full benefits to adults and not young people. And it is the young whom Vives has in mind when he briefly prescribes school exercises in the *De Disciplinis*. Declamations on topics of practical value should be presented to the schoolmaster, and corrected weekly by him before an audience. The *genus iudiciale* is to be avoided, for "To go to law does not well become a Christian, how much less those evasions ... which creep into those unwise legal processes almost ... against one's will" (p. 361)⁷⁸. The predilection for *suasoriae* over *controversiae* echoes his early published declamatory activity, all of which except for the *controversia Pro Noverca* is political⁷⁹. And as we have seen, the introductory material to the *Pro Noverca* shows how he takes that composition to be a completely different task from what he undertook in the *DS*⁸⁰.

Vives counsels in the *De Disciplinis* against defense of a disreputable topic, such as a praise of Busiris (*VOO* VI.359), for fear that the speaker's depraved human inclinations will mislead him into corresponding viciousness (*ne si id quandoque ioco fecerint, faciant aliquando serio, quum prava animi libido illuc rapiet*, p. 360). He certainly composed the *DS* without any such scruples, assuming as he did the persona of the blatantly reprehensible Sulla in Declamation III⁸¹. Either Vives' view in 1531 has changed from that which he put into practice in 1520, or the view of declamation of the 1520 preface is aimed at adults, while that expressed in *De Disciplinis* is for the training of children. On the latter assumption, to which I see no insurmountable obstacle, the evidence is consistent, and agrees with the supposition of three stages in Vives' attitude toward the *DS*.

Finally, a remark in *De Disc.* IV.4 under the topic "Imitation" provides a clue to how students might be expected to use such accomplished speeches:

It is a wise precept of M. Fabius Quintilian that boys should not at first attempt to rise to emulation of their master, lest their strength fail them. An easier and quicker method will be to let them imitate someone more learned than themselves among their fellows, and

⁷⁸ Watson, p. 186; cf. van der Poel, p. 143, n. 509.

⁷⁹ In addition to the *DS*, we have the *Pompeius Fugiens* (*VOO* II.501-16) and the translations of Isocrates' *Nicocles* and *Areopagiticus* (*VOO* V. 1-61).

⁸⁰ See above, pp. 131-32.

⁸¹ By promising Ferdinand a lesson in the penalties for ruling by fear, Vives implicitly takes sides against Sulla.

contending with him let them gradually rise to copying their master himself⁸².

Thus the virtuoso work of the master may come into play at a later stage in the students' search for models to imitate. That the *DS* would, in Vives' mind, be suitable for such a purpose may be inferred from his defense of their excellence (*DS*, p. 327).

Vives' *Declamationes Sullanae*, simultaneously offering an oratorical model, delving into politics and recreating an experience from the history of the Roman Republic, constitute a remarkable instance of the dramatic use of declamation, an achievement that deserves study with reference both to their composer's development and to the relationship between oratory and historiography as seen in the Renaissance. Further study might also be useful for determining whether they have a place in the background to the creative tradition of dramas on Roman themes that results in such works as the Roman plays of Shakespeare and Jonson⁸³.

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⁸² ...a Marco Fabio praecipitur, ne initio pueri ad magistri aemulationem conentur assurgere, ne destituantur viribus, sed, quod illis erit facilius, ac promptius, aliquem de condiscipulis doctiorem exprimant, quo innisi paullatim se ad magistrum erigant ... (*VOO* VI.362, translated by Watson). This sentiment echoes Quint. 1.2.26. Cf. Johann Michael Hofer, *Die Stellung des Desiderius Erasmus und des Johann Ludwig Vives zur Pädagogik des Quintilian* (Erlangen, 1910), p. 154. Quintilian's advice (*Inst.* 2.7.2-3, cited above, pp. 133-34) that a student should choose others' writings rather than his own for memory practice is related to this matter.

⁸³ Paul Dean, "Tudor Humanism and the Roman Past: A Background to Shakespeare", *Renaissance Quarterly*, 41 (1988), 84-111, traces Erasmus' and More's contributions to the shaping of a new attitude to history, and to what he regards as the reciprocal influences between Shakespeare's British historical and Roman plays. The position of the *DS* in the movements he studies, though beyond the scope of this paper, might merit attention.

I wish to thank Marc van der Poel, John Monfasani, Charles Fantazzi, George Kennedy, and Peder Christiansen for helpful comments and criticisms, which were always considered carefully even if not always heeded. I also thank Texas Tech University for a faculty development leave which provided the necessary leisure for this study.

S.A. VOSTERS

GHEERAERDT VORSELMAN, EULOGIST OF DOÑA MENCIA
DE MENDOZA

In a recent publication I mentioned numerous eulogists, both Spanish and Dutch, of doña Mencía de Mendoza, Marchioness of Cenete, Countess of Nassau, Baroness of Breda and Vicereine of Valencia (1508-1554)¹. Unfortunately I left out a high-pitched panegyric composed by Gheeraerdts Vorselman, 'Megasonder', i.e. native of Grootzundert, a group of villages, 15 miles south of Breda, which had Kleinzundert (now Zundert) as a nucleus. Very little is known about his life and publications. He lived at Loenhout, a village near Zundert, and was a medical practitioner in the city of Antwerp, where, like many fellow physicians, he moved in humanist circles². We first trace him in the *Catalogi duo operum D. Erasmi Roterodami ab ipso conscripti & digesti ... Praeterea epitaphiorum cum clariss. virorum aliquot epistolis* (Antverpiae, circiter calendas Maias, 1537). In the booklet Vorselman distinguishes himself as the poet of two epitaphs, offered to John Nervenius, President of 'Dirxland' and pride of 'Suytuornia', i.e. Dirksland, on the Isle of Overflakkee, and Voorne, another island in the South-West quarter of the province of South Holland³. Vorselman is best known as the author of a *Cookery Book* in Dutch (Antwerp 1560), in which — being a doctor — he showed himself to be particularly concerned about the sick and convalescent, though primarily it was an ordinary cookery book for the well-to-do classes⁴.

¹ S.A. Vosters, *Mencía de Mendoza, Vrouwe van Breda en Onderkoningin van Valencia* (Delft: Eburon, 1987). Hereafter: Vosters, *Mencia*.

² Henry De Vocht, *History of the Foundation and Rise of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense, 1517-1550*, vol. III "The Full Growth". *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 12 (Louvain, 1954), p. 451. cf. *Eenen Nyeuwen coock boeck*, kookboek samengesteld door Gheeraerdts Vorselman en gedrukt te Antwerpen in 1560, uitgegeven en van commentaar voorzien door E. Cockx-Indestege (Wiesbaden: G. Pressler, 1971), p. 263. Hereafter: *Cock boeck*.

³ DE VOCHT, pp. 450-1. cf. *Cock boeck*, pp. 28-29.

⁴ *Cock boeck*, p. 263.

Vorselman's encomium of doña Mencía's virtue and erudition appears in an 'epistola nuncupatoria', which opens the Gospel Harmony of the Four Evangelists called *Iesu Christi vita* (Antwerp, 24th December, 1537). The author was the Carthusian monk Willem van Branteghem, who wrote the *Praefatio* in the charter house 's-Koningsdal (Regia Vallis) at Rooigem near Ghent, on January 10, 1537⁵. The heading of the dedication over Mencía's coat of arms reads:

AD GENEROSISSIMAM,| Bonisque literis illustrem,| D. Menciam
de| Mendoza, Marchionem de Zenette, Comitem| Nassauianam, &c.
Gerardi Vorselmani| Megasondri, Medici doctoris de vera Nobili-| tate
Tetrastichon⁶.

Three of the last four words form an allusion to the opusculum *De vera nobilitate* (1512), written by the famous Fleming Judocus Clichtoveus [= Josse van Clichthove], who taught theology in the Sorbonne University⁷. In the Dutch version of the book on Christ's life, which appeared with the same date, in the same printing-office and at the expense of the same publisher, some of the Dutch titles Mencía owed to her marriage to Henry III, Count of Nassau were added: "Grauinne van ... Vianden &c. Vrouwe van Breda, van Diest &c." (Countess of ... Vianden etc., Baroness of Breda, Diest etc.)⁸. On f. 10a of the Latin original under Mencía's coat of arms appears a tetrastichon:

⁵ Jan De Grauwe, "Prosopographia Cartusiana Belgica (1374-1796)", *Analecta Cartusiana*, 28 (Gent 1976), p. 126, nr. 895.

⁶ *IESV CHRI* = | *sti vita, iuxta qua* = | *tuor Euangelistarum* | *narrationes, arti* = | *cio graphices perque* | *eleganter picta, vna* | *cvm totius anni Euan* = | *gelij ac Epistolis, | necnon pijs preca-* | *tionibus magna com* | *moditate adpressis*. Colophon: ANTVERPIAE, APVD | Matthaeum Cromme, pro Adriano | Kempe de Bouchout. Anno | M.D. XXXVII. | 24 [upside down] Decembris. — Royal Library, The Hague, nr. 228 G 52. The contrasting characters, printed here in Roman standard type and elsewhere in italics, have been added from abbreviations in the original. Cf. W. Nijhoff & M.E. Kronenberg, *Nederlandsche Bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540* ('s-Gravenhage; Nijhoff, 1923-1961) nr. 486. (NK). The preliminary matter of *Iesu Christi vita* lacks foliating, and only has quire signatures († †.2. = 10a). The foliating of the *Epistola*, epigraphs and distichs in the text is according to NK no. 486, where *a* means 'recto' and *b* 'verso'. "AD GEN." is the first heading of the dedication (10a) (See illustration) and the second heading "AD NOB." follows at the rear (10b). See below. The numerous abbreviations of the *Epistola*, headings and tetrastichon have been expanded and their punctuation modernized according to the meaning of the text. We maintain forms of archaic Latin as 'quum' and 'omneis'.

⁷ S.A. Vosters, "El simbolismo bíblico de Lope de Vega", in *Lope de Vega y la tradición occidental*, I (Madrid: Castalia, 1977), p. 63n, pp. 336-7, pp. 390-1, p. 393.

⁸ *Dat leuen* | *ons Heeren Christi* | *Jesu figuerlijck wten* | *text der vier Euan* = | *gelisten, met al die* | *Euangelien ende Epi* | *stelen vanden ghehee* | *len iare, ende Prophe* = | *tien van Christo,* | *met somighe* | *ghebeden*. Colophon: Ghedruct Tantwerpen by Mattheus | Cromme, Voor Adriaen Kempe van Bouck = | hout, by die ijsere waghe plaetse. Anno | xxxvij. den.

facile potest: quod tam rarum est, vt per multa saecula, vix/ [f. 11a]
 15 vnam, atque alteram inuenias, eo ornatam. Non volumus, Generosis-
 sima Comes, tuarum virtutum encomium scribere, aut eas sigillatim
 dinumerare: quae vulgo sint notissimæ. Quid opus est, Illustrissima
 Domina, tuas laudes a cunabulis auspicari? quid stemmata Generosis-
 simae familiae recensere? quid fortunas luculentissimas, eximiasque
 20 corporis dotes referre? quae neque ipsa magnificis, neque inter principes
 matronas sola possides? Quid Clementiam, Libertatem, Humanitatem,
 Indulgentiam, Affabilitatem, in medium producere? Quid diuitias, gene-
 rositatem, honores, formositatem, caeteraque fortunae, & corporis
 bona commemorare? quum ne Prudentiam quidem, aut Fortitudinem,
 25 Temperantiamve, cæterasque ipsas animi tui virtutes, laudare, aut
 extollere proposuimus. Nihil hic, nisi proprium, nisi genuinum, nisi
 tuum istud donum coeleste praedicabimus: idque paucissimis. Expectas
 forsan, Optima Domina, quid vocem coeleste istud donum: paucis
 accipe. Hoc est nimirum BONARVM LITERARVM SCIENTIA.
 30 Quod maius Donum coelitus comparari potest, quam bonarum litera-
 rum scientia & cognitio? Nonne haec omnium aliarum virtutum est
 basis, & fundamentum? ea transuolamus maria, montes ac regiones:
 videmus quid sit in altero orbe, quid accidit pristinis temporibus, aut
 ante multa saecula: quidque futurum erit. Et vt paucis absoluam, quid
 35 in coelo, quid in terris, ac apud inferos geratur. Non potui sane non
 satis mirari, quum intelligerem ante aliquot annos, ex affini tua Barbara
 Nassauiana, tui profecto aman-/ [f. 11b] tissima, gubernatrice coenobij
 Montispacis, extra muros Bredanos: te in bonis literis eo progressam, vt
 iam facile absque cortice nares. Et quum literarum nucleum, post
 40 amaros cortices sapere coepisti: illudque Catonis dictum¹², Radices
 virtutum amaras esse, fructus dulces esse experta: voluisti semper
 vlterius progredi: & non bene confidens mutis magistris, accersuisti tibi
 virum doctissimum, omnigena scientia praeditum, Ioannem Ludouicum
 Viues: quo usus es, vterisque praeceptore, ac doctore. Et prudentissime
 45 quidem, quum a doctis, nil nisi docta, bona, ac vtilia, doceantur. Quis
 bonus Genius istum tam sanctum affectum praecordijs infixit? vt
 teneram istam tui corporis constitutionem, ab ocio aulico, ad ocium

¹² V. found the Cato quotation (directly or indirectly) with the grammaticus Diomedes (*Gramm. Lat.* Keil, vol. I, p. 310, ll. 1-17). The same quotation has been attributed to Cicero by Julius Rufinianus §19. See Halm, *Rhetores Lat. Min.*, p. 43, 29; M. Tulli Ciceronis *Fragmenta*, ed. Ioanna Garbarino (Mediolani 1984), p. 110. no. 37. These data kindly have been put at our disposal by Prof. J. IJsewijn.

literarium, ad istum laborem, ad studium, inquam, bonarum literarum
 conuerteres? Nonne pulchrum est, quum in ocio videaris degere,
 50 minime esse ociosam? quum sola in Musaeo, aut cubiculo: cum multis
 tamen doctis pòsse colloqui? Atque eo iam in bonis literis progressam,
 tantumque sub Ioanne Ludouico Viues doctore tuo profectum fecisse,
 vt cum Hieronymo, Augustino, Ambrosio, Gregorio caeterisque scrip-
 toribus Ecclesiasticis, possis sacris lectionibus, confabulari? ac vbi velis,
 55 etiam cum Poëtis, ac Philosophis commentari? Nonne multo honestius
 ac generosius est tempus fallere honestis studijs, quibus corporis sani-
 tati, animaeque saluti consulas: quam in fritillo, tesseriis, aleae: ac
 nescio quibus aliarum lusionum generibus, tempus terere, ac male
 perdere? Nonne igitur istud verum est Donum coeleste (quo tu vna sola
 60 inter omnes/ [f. 12a] Heroinas ornaris) quod secum tot commoditates
 affert? in hac inquam vita tantum honorem, commodumque ac post
 mortem, nomen immortale relinquit: & vitam aeternam possidere facit:
 doctorumque corona insigniri. Sed de hac re satis. Sufficit donum istud
 tuum coeleste, omnibus diuulgasse ac notum fecisse: & hoc modo
 65 nomen tuum, ob istud donum coeleste vbique terrarum, per nos esse
 celebre: Ac ita effecisse, vt omnes Christiani habeant exemplar quod
 imitentur, tuumque sequantur institutum: Quod faxit Deus Optimus
 Maximus Aequi, bonique consulas, Clementissima Domina, nostrum
 conatum, nam istud tuum coeleste Donum, tam praesentibus quam
 70 posteris diuulgando ac celebrando, hoc inquam nomine, ac symbolo,
 quantum in nobis est, te immortalem facere studuimus. Et quemadmo-
 dum, Liberalissima Comes, Parthorum regem nemo sine munere salutare
 solitus sit, ita ego tuam humanitatem salutaturus, attuli, pro munusculo,
 ac strenula, libellum hunc aureum: quem laeta fronte, hilarique vultu,
 75 accipias quaeso. Vale, Domina Mencia Generosissima Comes Nas-
 sauiana: & Vorsemanum hunc, inter clientes tuos numera: quem tibi
 profecto, ob rarum istud donum coeleste, est deditissimus. Antverpiae,
 ex Cruce Christiana. Decimo Calendas Ianuarias Anno 1537.

Ad eandem Liberalissimam Munificentissimamque Dominam
 Eiusdem Gerardi Vorselmani Hexastichon.

Regia non minus est virtus, munuscula parua
 Accipere aequo animo, quam dare magna Comes.
 Hanc igitur strenam laeta, precor, accipe fronte;
 Posthac conabor vel potiora dare.
 Et valeas, Generosa Comes, foueas Megasondrum
 Huncque tuum, semper qui cupit esse tuus.

We now shall examine some details more closely. After an appraisal of Mencia's virtuousness, which is such that in a hundred years hardly a noble lady would be found to match her, Vorselman glorifies her erudition (ll. 27-31): "You await perhaps¹³, o Excellent Lady, what I would like to call this heavenly gift; to put it in a few words, it is, of course, THE KNOWLEDGE OF BELLES LETTRES. What better gift from heaven may there be than the knowledge of and acquaintance with belles lettres?"

The 'bonae litterae', to which Erasmus had given his heart, certainly did not stand for mediaeval Latin, either prose or poetry, nor literature in the vernacular, so that the translator felt obliged to state precisely that what was understood was erudition: "oft die conste van wel Latijn te verstaen, ende wt te spreken" (i.e. the art of understanding and pronouncing Latin well). In order to avoid repetition the final clause: "quod ... cognitio?" is concisely rendered by 'Gheleertheyt' (learning). After extolling the erudition, which enables us to know distant worlds, past and future, heaven and hell, Vorselman reinforces his plea with a personal reminiscence: "I could certainly not have been more amazed when, a couple of years ago, I learned from your relative¹⁴ Barbara van Nassau, the prioress of the Vredenberg nunnery outside the Breda walls, who truly loves you very much, that you had made such progress in the field of belles lettres that you can easily swim without cork" (ll. 35-39).

The end of this clause alludes to the Latin proverb: "nare sine cortice", to swim without the bark of the cork-tree¹⁵. The Dutch translation is even more specific and again stresses the fact that 'bonae litterae' should be understood in the meaning of the knowledge of Classical Latin, both language and literature: "Dat ghi doen so verde in die Latijnsche sprake gheprofijteert hadt dat ghi alle dinck by v seluen moecht verstaen, ende goet Latijn spreken" (that you had made such progress in Latin that you could understand everything all by yourself and speak Latin well). Though many eulogists referred to Mencia's knowledge of Latin as such, nobody alluded to her ability to speak

¹³ The Dutch version of this passage is different: "Ghi hebt ... verlangen", where "verlanghen" had the meaning of 'obtained', cf. German 'erlangt'.

¹⁴ 'Affinis' (relative, cousin by marriage) has been rendered in Dutch by 'cousijne', a word which in Middle Dutch had as wide a range as English 'cousin' in the Elizabethan Age. As Engelbrecht II was an uncle of Henry III, Mencia's husband, Barbara can only be called the cousin-in-law in presentday English.

¹⁵ The expression is used by Horace, *Carmina* III 8, 10 and *Satirae* I 4, 120.

Cicero's language, as far as we know¹⁶. The prioress Vorselman names as a witness is Barbara van Nassau, a natural daughter of Engelbrecht II van Nassau, who was Lord of Breda and its Barony from 1475 to 1504¹⁷. Vredenberg, a priory of Austin Canonesses, was founded in 1476 by Maria van Loon, widow of Jan IV van Nassau, Lord of Breda (1442-75). In 1484 the nunnery was moved from the village of Bavel to the hamlet of Boeimeer, just outside the walls of Breda. In 1521 Barbara van Nassau became prioress of Vredenberg¹⁸. It is supposed that her portrait is to be seen in the retable of the altar of the Holy Sacrament of the Miracle, which is kept at the Breda Municipal Museum¹⁹. The Christian name Barbara might be understood as a homage to Saint Barbara, the original patron saint of the Great or Our Lady's Church at Breda²⁰. After the destruction of their convent in 1577 the nuns moved to Ocrum House in the centre of the town. Complying with the wishes of bishop Miraeus the sisters moved to Lier, near Antwerp in 1610²¹. We do not know whether Mencia de Mendoza and Barbara von Nassau knew each other by sight, but there is a document which proves that Vives' wife Margarita Valldaura served as an intermediary. On August 9, 1539 the Countess sent her 23 guilders for 51 ells of Dutch (i.e. fine) linen which Margarita had purchased for her at the priory of the Austin Canonesses²².

Next Vorselman states that Mencia, not quite satisfied with learning from books, ordered: "virum doctissimum, omnigena scientia praeditum, Ioannem Ludouicum Viues" to become her teacher: "a very wise decision, because only by learned persons are scholarly, good and useful things taught". Probably Vorselman was not aware of the fact

¹⁶ See Vosters, *Mencia*, p. 51.

¹⁷ Mr. F.F.X. Cerutti, "De institutionele geschiedenis der stad tijdens de Nassaus", *Geschiedenis van Breda*, I. *De Middeleeuwen* (Schiedam: Interbook Intern, 1976), p. 183. (Hereafter: *Ges. Breda*).

¹⁸ Pater Placidus O.M.Cap., "Geschiedenis der katholieke kerk te Breda", *Ges. Breda*, I, pp. 155-6. Cf. G.C.A. Juten, *Het klooster Vredenberg te Boeymeer* (Overdruk uit *Taxandria XVI-XVII*) (Bergen op Zoom: Gebr. Juten, 1910), p. XIII. Juten states that Barbara was prioress somewhere about 1514.

¹⁹ *Ges. Breda* I, p. 156n.

²⁰ V. Paquay, "Dynastiek zelfbewustzijn in steen: herdatering en situering van het Nassaugrafielief in de Grote Kerk te Breda", *Jaarboek van de Geschied- en Oudheidkundige Kring van Stad en Land van Breda "De ORANJEBOOM"*, XL (1987), 11.

²¹ Dr. J.L.M. de Lepper, "De katholieke kerk", *Ges. Breda*, II (1977), p. 175, cf. p. 270.

²² Vosters, *Mencia*, p. 49.

that doña Mencía, who supposedly had Jewish blood in her veins, could feel a certain affinity towards Vives as a 'conversa'. 'Megasonder' could have known, however, that the poor scholar was on the verge of starvation when he was offered the job of praeceptor to doña Mencía²³. When the lines in question were written, Vives was still alive, and revealing his poverty could have hurt him profoundly. Then the Antwerp physician finds out two things: unlike most other noblewomen, she dedicates herself to the labour of study and, while she appears to be alone in her study or bedroom, she is able to speak to many learned men. Among these Vorselman mentions by name fathers of the church such as Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose, Gregory and a number of poets and philosophers not specified by name. We know for a fact that doña Mencía had her private rooms above a water-mill, situated somewhat apart from the Breda castle, which was at the time in a noisy process of reconstruction. This is where tutored by Vives, she read poets like Lucan and Virgil and historians like Sepúlveda. It was known that Mencía had many editions of the fathers in her library²⁴, but Vorselman's account is the first clue we have ever found to Mencía's actually reading them, which was highly recommended by Erasmus of Rotterdam. Vives himself commented on Augustine's *De civitate Dei* (1522)²⁵.

Again Vorselman glorifies studying, this time as being healthy for both body and soul; in any case a better pastime than playing. Not surprisingly Vorselman was concerned about her physical health as well. One might wonder whether he also rendered doña Mencía assistance as a medical man, though we do know that her usual physician was Dr. Pedro Lozano, from no later than 1536 to 1549 at least²⁶. But during an illness in 1536 she consulted more than one doctor at a time, as Díez de Frias informs us in the 'epistola nuncupatoria' of his *Contemplaciones* (1536), where he says that some days before, when Mencía de Mendoza had fallen ill, the doctors (plural) had strictly forbidden her to study²⁷. We have already seen that Vorselman was thoroughly conversant with her habit of studying in her bedroom. In his peroration, where she is called 'Clementissima Domina' and 'Gene-

²³ Vosters, *Mencia*, pp. 48-49, pp. 74-76.

²⁴ Vosters, *Mencia*, p. 42.

²⁵ Vosters, *Mencia*, p. 37, pp. 51-53. Id., "Juan Luis Vives en de Nederlanden", *Verslagen en Mededelingen Kon. Vlaamse Ac. v. taal- en letterkunde* (1964), 85-90. (VoVi.).

²⁶ Vosters, *Mencia*, p. 47, p. 72.

²⁷ Vosters, *Mencia*, p. 46.

rosissima Comes', Vorselman explains that he is also spreading the fame of her erudition among the generations to come. Though time and again his eulogy has been overlooked, the wish of her lasting reputation was to be fulfilled, not only because now a Breda secondary school bears her name, but also as a result of studies, dedicated to her captivating personality by several twentieth century scholars, both in the Low Countries and Spain. Finally Vorselman requests doña Mencía to accept: "libellum hunc aureum" (i.e. Van Branteghem's *Iesu Christi vita*): "pro munusculo, ac strenula". The Dutch translation here reads: "voor een nieu jaer" (as a New-Year's gift). In this tautology 'munusculum' means a little present, whereas 'strenula' derives from Strenua or Strenia, the Roman goddess who was patroness of New-Year's gifts and good health²⁸. The 'epistola' is dated "Antverpiae, ex Cruce Christiana, Decimo Calend. Ianua. Anno. 37", in Dutch: "Wt den cruyce Christi, tot Antwerpen, den xxij Decembris. Anno xxxvij". (From the House called Christ's Cross in Antwerp, December 22, 1537). The 'epistola' ends with three distichs which were neither translated nor included in the Dutch version. In this Hexastichon, 'Megasonder' asks her to accept the little present and promises even greater gifts, and hopes she will favour him, who is always at her disposal. Among the numerous scholars who glorified Mencía de Mendoza only a few are Dutch. Ettenius was a secretary to Petrus Vorstius from Antwerp, priest of Breda and bishop of Acqui, a suffragan diocese of the archbishopric Milan. Ettenius, who spent a few days at the Breda castle in July 1537, can hardly be called a eulogist, though his diary mentions Mencía's love for splendour and for study. Though in the dedication of his *Dialogismi Heroinarum* (Invented dialogues with Heroines, 1541) Professor Nannius from Louvain University puts her on a par with the most excellent women of Antiquity, we have to wait until 1608 to find another Dutchman praising her, not a witness of her great learning and patronage of the arts, but an epigone, who copies almost literally the encomium written by her countryman Matamoros written in 1553²⁹. The more valuable is Vorselman's evidence from which we gather the

²⁸ See Augustine's *De civitate Dei* IV 16, and M. Terentius Varro, *De lingua Latina* V 47.

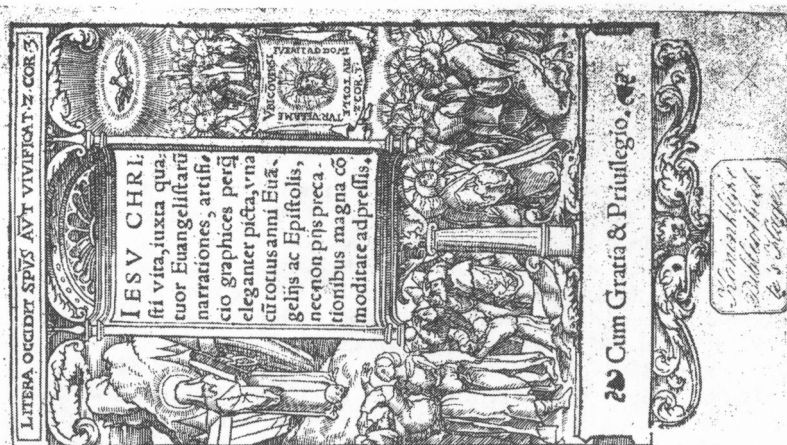
²⁹ Vosters, *Mencía*, p. 51, p. 53, p. 69, p. 81.

impression that he knew her personally and that his eulogy of her learning and virtue is more than an obligatory piece of literature³⁰.

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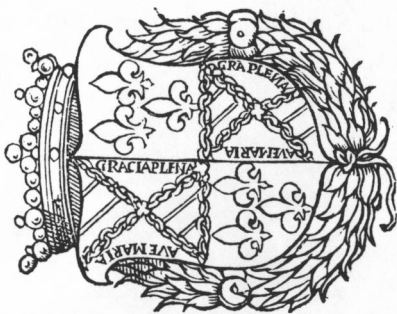
³⁰ In my Vives papers I observed the existence of an unauthentic title-page to the Madrid copy of Vives' *Dialogues* (Biblioteca Nacional, R 7935). This title-page was printed in the 18th century to replace the lost frontispiece of the sixteenth century edition. For that purpose the text of the Colophon was used, which says that the *Dialogues* were concluded at Breda, on the day of the Visitation (July, 2), 1538. We know now that the book was printed by Pedro Bernuz at Saragossa (Spain), probably somewhere between 1540 and 1550. It is supposed to be the oldest edition of the *Dialogues* printed in Spain, See *VoVi.*, p. 129 and S.A. Vosters, "Vives al hilo de algunas portadas", *Cuadernos de bibliofilia*, núm. 11 (junio 1983), 39. cf. NK 01228 and Ant. Palau y Dulcet, *Manual del librero hispanoamericano*, 27 (Madrid 1976), p. 425. — I would like to thank my friend the Anglicist Drs. C. Eimermann at Breda, for the trouble he took in revising this paper.



Praefatio.

Qu, demurrate solent complures dum mis:
las audiri vel vident, quum in illis suis precu:
lis, eorū vel quae dicitur vel aguntur in missa,
nihil prorsus explicetur, quo verus Missae fru:
ctus indicatur, & vltus cognoscatur, At vitan:
dem manum de tabula tollam, hoc oro cōmū:
nem patrem nostrū coelestem p. Iesum mediato:
rem nostrū mi Adriane, vti minus quod sulce:
pisti publicū, ita administres vt & venerandi
senis auctū tui & euilem patris mei Ioānis,
qui hoc ad se vltro delatū velut emeritis miles,
& cursu tradita tibi lampade defugies, tibi man:
dandum curauit, & expectatōnem concepim:
de te spero nō modo aequas, sed etiā superes. sed
omnium primū id nunq̃ memoria vt excidat,
plane stultitū esse insitorem quātūvis excels:
lentia sit perditus, quātous opum thesauro locu:
pletatus, cuius nō penitus infixum sit animo il:
lud Christi. Quid prodest homini, si totū mun:
dum lucratus fuerit, animā vero suā iacturā se:
cerit? Aut quid dabit homo cuius permutatio:
ne redimet animā suā? Eatenus gratulari tibi,
& plene gaudere facies me videntē bonis te tem:
porarijs ab eo q̃ p̃cepto honorandorū parentū
terrenae prosperitatis pollicitationē addidit, ad
liberandā in te fidem suā largiter (vti videmus)
auctū, quatenus ex his materā colpe xero bene:
faciē te accipere, ac in gloriā eius q̃ oia suppe:
ditat, adq̃ tuā ipsius aeternā salutē, nec nō subuen:
tionem, nō ad aliquideorū, quae in mūdo sunt,
dispeniare, Bene vale, Ex Regia nostra Valle
prope Gandauum, 10, Cal, Ianua, Anno. 1537.

AD GENEROSISSIMAM,
bonisq̃ literis illustrem, D. Menciā de
Mendozā, Marchionem de Zenette, Comitem
Nassauianam, &c. Gerardi Vorselmani
Megali, Med, doct, de vera Nobili:
tate Terrafichon.



Nobilitat hoīem, Bona fama, Sciētia, Virtus:
Vera quidem non est his sine Nobilitas:
Haec tria cū fuerint comites tibi Mencia semper
Certum est quod vera Nobilitate viget.



(1) Title page of Van Branteghem's *Iesu Christi vita* (1537)

(2) The end of Van Branteghem's *Praefatio* and, in front of that, the heading of Vorselman's Dedication and Mencia's coat of arms.

Monique MUND-DOPCHIE

LA SURVIE DU "PÉRIPLE D'HANNON" AU XVI^e ET AU XVII^e SIÈCLE

Le périple d'Hannon, à l'instar de l'Atlantide de Platon, mais dans une moindre mesure assurément, n'a cessé de susciter analyses et controverses. Car il a tout pour stimuler les curiosités de façon durable: il fait resurgir devant nous une civilisation fauchée brutalement, celle de Carthage, et se pare de l'aura de mystère que lui confèrent des sources mal établies et peu prolifiques.

Le voyage effectué par l'amiral carthaginois le long des côtes occidentales de l'Afrique ne nous est, en effet, connu qu'à travers deux types d'informations. Nous disposons d'une part, d'une brève relation, transmise par un manuscrit du IX^e siècle conservé à Heidelberg et par un apographe de ce dernier¹. Se présentant comme la version grecque d'un texte punique gravé dans le temple de Baal, celle-ci précise que l'expédition fut interrompue, faute de vivres suffisants, et décrit succinctement son trajet et ses étapes. Les épisodes les plus marquants en sont la découverte d'une côte parcourue par des torrents de feu se déversant dans la mer², le passage au large d'une île occidentale, dont les occupants, invisibles, se signalent par le son des flûtes, le bruit des tambours et des cymbales, ainsi que par des cris effroyables³, et l'escale ultime dans une île située plus au sud, peuplée d'habitants velus et farouches, que les interprètes des Carthaginois appellent "gorilles"; les

¹ Il s'agit respectivement du *Palatinus Graecus* 398, copié au IX^e siècle et conservé à la Bibliothèque de l'Université de Heidelberg et du *Vatopedinus* 655, copié au XIV^e siècle, dans sa partie conservée à la British Library (add. ms. 19391). Seul, le *Palatinus* fut connu des humanistes et Jérôme Froben fut le premier d'entre eux à y avoir accès. Sur l'histoire de ces deux manuscrits, on consultera A. DILLER, *The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers*. Philological Monographs Published by the American Philological Association, XIV (Oxford, 1952), pp. 3-14.

² § 15. Cf. les éditions de J. BLOMQUIST, *The Date and Origin of the Greek Version of Hanno's Periplus. With an Edition of the Text and a Translation* (Lund, 1979); J.-G. DEMERLIAC & J. MEIRAT, *Hannon et l'empire punique* (Paris, 1983).

³ § 14.

marins d'Hannon parviennent à tuer trois femelles et ramènent leurs peaux à Carthage⁴.

La navigation de l'amiral Hannon est également mentionnée par des écrivains grecs et latins, parmi lesquels figurent pour l'essentiel l'auteur du traité aristotélicien *περί θαυμασίων ἀκουσμάτων*, Pomponius Méla, Pline l'Ancien et son abrégiateur Solin, Arrien, sans compter les brèves allusions d'Aelius Aristide et d'Athénée, pour ne citer que quelques-uns⁵. Grâce à leur témoignage, nous apprenons que plusieurs récits du périple, encombrés de merveilleux, circulaient au 1^{er} siècle ap. J.-C., que le voyage avait été organisé à l'apogée de l'État carthaginois et qu'il n'existait plus de traces, à l'époque où ils rédigeaient, des établissements fondés par Hannon⁶. Par ailleurs, les sources gréco-romaines se contredisent entre elles et s'écartent sur certains détails de la relation du manuscrit. Ainsi, il nous est rapporté qu'Hannon parvint jusqu'à la péninsule arabique⁷; l'île occidentale est désormais occupée par les Gorgones ou des êtres qui leur sont apparentés⁸; l'île australe, régulièrement confondue avec la première, abrite des habitantes que leurs mœurs associent aux Amazones⁹; enfin, les concerts de tambours, de flûtes et de cymbales ne sont plus attribués à des habitants inconnus mais à des Satyres et à des Égipans¹⁰.

La confusion de ces différentes sources a semé et sème encore la discorde chez les savants modernes. Ceux-ci ne s'entendent ni sur l'identification des lieux, ni sur la date du voyage, ni sur l'authenticité du texte attribué à l'amiral carthaginois. Certains vont même jusqu'à nier l'existence d'un voyage d'exploration mené par Hannon¹¹.

⁴ § 18.

⁵ (Aristote), *De mirabilibus auscultationibus*, 37; Pomponius Méla, *Chorographia*, III, 90 et 93; Pline, *Historia Naturalis*, II, 169; V, 8; VI, 200; Solin, *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*, 24 et 56; Arrien, *Indikè*, XLIII, 11-12; Aelius Aristide, *Orationes*, XXXVI, 93 et 94; Athénée, *Deipnosophistae*, III, 83c. A cela s'ajoutent le témoignage douteux de Palaiphatos, *περί ἀπίστων*, XXXI et la simple mention faite par Marcien d'Héraclée, *Epit. peripl. Menippeï*, I, 2.

⁶ Cf. Pline, V, 8: "Fuere et Hannonis Carthaginensium ducis commentarii Punicis rebus florentissimis explorare ambitum Africae iussi, quem secuti plerique a Graecis nostrisque et alia quidem fabulosa et urbes multas ab eo conditas ibi prodidere, quarum nec memoria ulla nec vestigium exstat".

⁷ Cf. Pline, II, 169.

⁸ Cf. Pline, VI, 198-201; Pomponius Méla, III, 99.

⁹ Cf. Pomponius Méla, III, 93.

¹⁰ Cf. Pline, V, 7; Pomponius Méla, III, 95.

¹¹ A titre d'exemple, on comparera les arguments de J.-G. DEMERLIAC & J. MEIRAT, *Hannon et l'empire punique*..., partisans de l'authenticité du document, ceux de J. DESANGES, *Recherches sur l'activité des Méditerranéens aux confins de l'Afrique (VI^e*

La présente étude ne constitue en aucun cas une pièce nouvelle à verser dans ce dossier tant débattu. Elle se propose plutôt d'analyser les réactions des humanistes face à une aventure préfigurant celles qui allaient bouleverser leurs propres horizons et modifier profondément les structures mentales et les façons de penser. Pour fixer des limites précises à mon enquête, je m'intéresserai aux éditions, traductions et commentaires publiés entre 1533, date où parut l'*editio princeps* du rapport d'Hannon¹², et 1698, lorsque la dissertation de Dodwell contesta de façon significative l'authenticité du texte transmis par le manuscrit de Heidelberg¹³. Il s'agit en l'occurrence d'une documentation assez disparate. Si on se limite aux travaux originaux, le texte grec a été traduit à trois reprises, en italien par Giambattista Ramusio¹⁴, l'auteur d'un très vaste et très célèbre recueil de récits de voyages (1550), et en latin par Conrad Gesner (1559) et par Jean-Jacques Mueller (1661)¹⁵; les trois savants ont joint un commentaire à leur translation. Des études plus ou moins approfondies ont également été consacrées au rapport proprement dit par Samuel Purchas¹⁶, autre collectionneur de récits de voyages, en 1625, et par Samuel Bochart en

siècle avant J.-C. — IV^e siècle après J.-C.) (Rome, 1978), pp. 39-85, qui croit à la réalité du voyage, mais non à l'authenticité du document, et ceux de R. MAUNY, "Le périple d'Hannon. Un faux célèbre concernant les navigations antiques", dans *Archeologia*, 37(1970), 78-80, qui conclut en ces termes: "Cessons de prendre ce faux ou cette amplification littéraire pour un document authentique et délivrons-en à jamais les discussions sérieuses" (p. 80).

¹² [S. GELENIUS], *Arriani et Hannonis periplus. Plutarchus de fluminibus et montibus. Strabonis epitome* (Bâle, 1533), pp. 38-40 (Paris, BN, G. 3032).

¹³ H. DODWELL, "Dissertatio Prima. De vero Peripli, qui Hannonis nomine circumferatur, tempore", dans J. HUDSON, *Geographiae veteris scriptores graeci minores ... Vol. I* (Oxford, 1698), pp. 1-41 = ff. *A1^r.*F1^r (Louvain-la-Neuve, CGD, 5A43770).

¹⁴ [G. B. RAMUSIO], *Primo volume delle navigationi et viaggi nel qual si contiene la descrizione dell'Africa* (Venise, 1550), ff. 121^v-124^v (Paris, BN, G. 1451). La translation et le commentaire de Ramusio ont été traduits en français en 1556: cf. [J. TEMPORAL], *Historiale Description de l'Afrique, tierce partie du monde ... Tome premier* (Lyon, 1556), ff. **1^r.-**6^r (Paris, BN. Rés. Fol. 03.2). La traduction de Ramusio inspire aussi directement celle de S. PURCHAS, *Purchas his Pilgrimes in Five Bookes. The First* (Londres, 1625), p. 78 (Londres, BL, 679.h.11-14).

¹⁵ C. GESNER, *Hannonis Carthaginensium ducis Navigatio ...* (Zurich, 1559) (Paris, BN, 8°03.1.A). Celle-ci sera reproduite dans les ouvrages de A. BERKELIUS, *Genuina Stephani Byzantini de urbibus et populis fragmenta ... Accedit Hannonis Carthaginensium Regis periplus* (Leyde, 1674), pp. 65-98 (Paris, BN, G. 9053) et de J. HUDSON, *Geographiae veteris scriptores graeci minores ...*, pp. 1-6 = ff. b3^r-c1^v.

J.-J. MUELLER, *Hannonis periplus. Quem a se Latine conversum et annotatione quadam auctum, in Inclyla Academia Argentoratensi ...* (Strasbourg, 1661) (Paris, BN, G. 3035).

¹⁶ S. PURCHAS, *Purchas his Pilgrimes ...* (Londres, 1625), pp. 77-79.

1646¹⁷, tandis que Claude Saumaise discutait du périple en général à travers son exégèse de Solin (1629)¹⁸, Bartold Nihus (1622, 1630) et Isaac Vossius (1658 et 1685), à l'occasion d'analyses portant sur la *Chorographie* de Pomponius Mela¹⁹. Il convient ensuite de relever les mentions du fameux périple qui figurent dans les Histoires de l'Espagne publiées respectivement par Florian d'Ocampo (1543, 1553) et par Juan Mariana (1592)²⁰, de même que dans l'Histoire de l'Afrique composée par Luys del Marmol (1573)²¹. L'expédition d'Hannon a été enfin abondamment évoquée, le plus souvent par de brèves allusions, dans les contextes les plus variés. En dresser la liste exhaustive s'avère une tâche impossible. Les textes dont je dispose déjà illustrent remarquablement l'accueil réservé à l'aventure antique et l'utilisation qui en fut faite à des fins nullement neutres et désintéressées. A cet égard, les réactions d'un Thevet, historiographe du Roi, et d'un Hugo Grotius, juriste, par exemple, méritent qu'on s'y attarde quelque peu²².

Ne prétendant pas analyser ici dans le détail l'ensemble des informations livrées par les textes des XVI^e et XVII^e siècles, je me contenterai de répondre à quatre questions:

1. Comment les humanistes apprécieraient-ils l'aventure de ce précurseur lointain des Christophe Colomb, Vasco de Gama, Cadamosto et de tant d'autres encore?
2. Où firent-ils voyager et aborder l'amiral Hannon?

¹⁷ S. BOCHARTUS, *Geographiae sacrae pars altera Chanaan seu De Coloniis et sermone Phoenicum* (Caen, 1646), pp. 710-715 (Paris, BN, A. 1377).

¹⁸ Cl. SALMASIUS, *Plinianae exercitationes in Caii Iulii Solini Polyhistora* (Paris, 1629), pp. 1296-1297 (Paris, BN, G. 1732).

¹⁹ B. NIHUSIUS, *Epistola philologica... excutiens narrationem Pomponii Melae de Navigatione Hannonis...*, 2^e éd. (Francfort, 1630) (Londres, BL, 836.f.23.(2).); 1^e éd.: Francfort, 1622; I. VOSSIUS, *Observationes ad Pomponium Melam de situ orbis* (La Haye, 1658), pp. 207-208, 302-303, 305-306 (Paris, BN, G. 3047); I. VOSSIUS, *Variarum Observationum Liber* (Londres, 1685), pp. 51-53 (Paris, BN, Z. 3902).

²⁰ F. d'OCAMPO (ou do CAMPO), *Los cinco Libros primeros de la Cronica general de España...*, 2^e éd. (Medina del Campo, 1553), ff. 157^r-160^r (Paris, BN, fol. Oa. 10); 1^e éd.: Zamora, 1543; J. MARIANA, *Historiae de rebus Hispaniae Libri XX* (Tolède, 1592), pp. 38-44 (Paris, BN, fol. Oa. 27).

²¹ L. del MARMOL, *Primera parte de la Descripcion general de Affrica* (Grenade, 1573), ff. 33^{r-v}, 45^v-46^r (Paris, BN, Rés. 03.5); traduit par N. PERROT d'ABLANCOURT, *L'Afrique de Marmol* (Paris, 1667), pp. 71, 97-98 (Paris, BN, Rés. 03.6).

²² A. THEVET, *La cosmographie universelle* (Paris, 1575), f.â2^{r-v} (Louvain-la-Neuve, CGD, Rés. 3.C.400); H. GROTIUS, *Mare liberum sive De iure quod Batavis competit ad Indicana commercia Dissertatio. Ultima editio* (Leyde, 1618), pp. 58-61 (Bruxelles, BR, II. 17183 A).

3. Dans quelle mesure réagirent-ils devant les incohérences et les incertitudes des sources antiques?

4. Enfin, quelle fut leur interprétation des éléments merveilleux et fantastiques figurant dans la tradition?

En ce qui concerne la reconnaissance du parcours et l'identification des escales, on observe d'emblée que les avis divergent du tout au tout, nos savants ne faisant que précéder en ce domaine la confusion actuelle. Ainsi, l'île aux gorilles devient soit l'île de São Tomé, soit l'île de Fernando Po²³; l'île de Cernè, mentionnée par Hannon, comme par d'autres écrivains antiques, est le plus souvent localisée dans l'îlot d'Arguin, mais aussi dans Madagascar²⁴, et on pourrait multiplier ce type d'exemple. Ces identifications ne sont d'ailleurs pas toujours innocentes: quand Hugo Grotius, dans son traité *Mare liberum* paru en 1609, identifie le lieu-dit *Hesperu Keras* au cap de Bonne Espérance, il ne se contente pas de valoriser considérablement l'exploit de l'amiral carthaginois; il récusé par la même occasion, au nom des intérêts hollandais, les prétentions des Portugais, qui revendiquent, comme premiers découvreurs, le contrôle des mers du Sud:

“... Poenos autem, qui re maritima plurimum valuerunt, eum Oceanum non ignorasse longe clarissimum est, cum Hanno Carthaginiis potentia florente circumvectus a Gadibus ad finem Arabiae, praeter-navigato scilicet promontorio quod nunc Bonae Spei dicitur, (vetus videtur nomen Hesperion ceras fuisse), omne id iter, situmque littoris et insularum scripto complexus sit, testatusque ad ultimum non mare sibi, sed commeatum defuisse... Et haec quidem vetera satis arguunt primos non fuisse Lusitanos”²⁵.

Les divergences, voire les contradictions, entre le texte du manuscrit de Heidelberg et l'ensemble des auteurs grecs et latins, d'une part, à l'intérieur de la tradition indirecte, d'autre part, ont également été perçues de diverses façons. Dès la parution de l'*editio princeps* du rapport attribué à l'amiral Hannon, des voix s'élevèrent, semble-t-il, contre l'authenticité du texte. C'est ce qu'indique, en tout cas, l'historien espagnol Florian d'Ocampo: dans la première moûture de son ouvrage, publiée en 1543, il décrit le périple carthaginois, d'après Pline

²³ L'île de São Tomé est proposée par F. d'Ocampo et J. Mariana, celle de Fernando Po, par G.B. Ramusio et S. Purchas, par exemple.

²⁴ L'îlot d'Arguin est proposé notamment par G.B. Ramusio, J. Mariana, S. Purchas; Madagascar est suggéré par certains, selon le témoignage de J.-J. Mueller.

²⁵ H. GROTIUS, *Mare liberum*..., pp. 59-61.

et Pomponius Méla; lors de la 2^e édition, imprimée dix ans plus tard, il mentionne cette fois l'existence du texte d'origine punique, mais en indiquant que ce dernier a paru suspect à d'aucuns:

“... a qual escritura no hallamos agora en este tienpo tan poco ..., sino es un pedaço pequeño muy breve de sus principios y aun este sospechan algunos no ser suyo”²⁶.

Néanmoins, de telles réactions furent au début isolées et le manuscrit de Heidelberg demeura longtemps un témoin privilégié. Parmi les commentaires qui lui furent consacrés, il convient toutefois de distinguer entre ceux qui émanèrent d'historiens ou d'éditeurs de récits de voyages et ceux qui furent rédigés dans les milieux philologiques. Les premiers amalgamèrent les données fournies par le “rapport” d'Hannon et par la tradition indirecte, sans se préoccuper des incohérences qu'ils introduisaient, à leur tour, dans leurs analyses. Ainsi, Ramusio, dans sa traduction, évoque correctement les trois femelles, dont les peaux sont ramenées à Carthage, alors que dans son exégèse, il parle, à la suite de Pline et de Solin, de deux femelles abattues; par ailleurs, les gorilles du texte grec deviennent, sous sa plume, des Gorgones, ce qui lui impose de justifier l'intrusion du mythe de Persée dans un texte qui se veut technique²⁷. De même, Juan Mariana installe des femmes monstrueuses dans l'île occidentale, comme dans l'île australe, amalgamant de la sorte le texte de Pline et celui du “rapport”²⁸.

En revanche, les exégètes du texte furent très tôt sensibles aux problèmes posés par la confrontation des sources. Dès 1559, Conrad Gesner dénonce la confusion entre le nom *gorilles* fourni par le manuscrit de Heidelberg et les termes *Gorgades* ou *Gorgones* attestés chez Pline, et il reproche à ce dernier d'avoir mal copié le “rapport”. Il croit donc à l'authenticité de celui-ci, mais n'ose se lancer dans la critique des témoignages:

“Apparet autem eum vel ex eo quod Hannonem citat, et quaedam eius verba interpretatur, (is Gorgones Gorillas vocat), insulas earum ad Hesperionceras, non recte retulisse: cum ad Notium referat Hanno. Sed aliquis ociosior haec diligentius considerabit”²⁹.

²⁶ F. d'OCAMPO, *Los cinco Libros* ..., f. 159^r.

²⁷ [G. B. RAMUSIO], *Primo volume* ..., f. 124^{r-v}; [J. TEMPORAL], *Description de l'Afrique* ..., f. **5^v. Sur l'île aux “gorilles” en général, cf. M. MUND-DOPCHIE, “Les humanistes face aux “gorilles” d'Hannon”, dans *Prose et prosateurs de la Renaissance. Mélanges offerts à Robert Aulotte* (Paris, 1988), pp. 331-341.

²⁸ J. MARIANA, *Historiae* ..., p. 42.

²⁹ C. GESNER, *Hannonis ... Navigatio* ..., p. 20.

En 1622, le controversiste Bartold Nihus dénonce à sont tour les contradictions de Pomponius Méla et de Pline face à la version punique, allant même jusqu'à taxer le premier de mensonge délibéré. Il semble donc bien admettre l'authenticité du "rapport"; toutefois, une phrase sibylline à la fin de sa thèse laisse entendre qu'il en est moins sûr qu'il n'y paraît:

"Quae omnia quum ita sint, neque etiam Strabo, aut ex antiquitate quisquam alius, opem mihi ferre posse videatur in eruendo vero, quid restat, nisi ut in suspensio rem relinquamus? Non profecto est, quod scrupulosus heic ultra sis: maxime quum de Periplo Hannonis multa moneri insuper queant ..." ³⁰.

Bartold Nihus n'est d'ailleurs pas le seul, en cette première moitié du XVII^e siècle, à émettre des réserves sur le contenu du "rapport". Gaspar Barreiros (1616) et Gérard Vossius (1623), sans se prononcer personnellement, ont déjà rappelé que l'existence même du périple a été mise en doute dès l'Antiquité ³¹. Quant au théologien Samuel Bochart (1646), qui utilise le "rapport" dans sa *Geographia Sacra*, il en rejette purement et simplement la fin: l'évocation de l'île occidentale marque pour lui le passage de l'histoire à la légende:

"Quae sequuntur de navigatione ad Ἑσπέρου et Νότου κέρατα, et montem igneum quem vocat Θεῶν ὄχημα, et de crebris ignibus qui solum noctu micant, et de insulis tibiatarum cantu tympanorumque et cymbalorum sonitu strepentibus, consulto praetereo, quia mere fabulosa sunt" ³².

Enfin, contrastant avec l'enthousiasme presque délirant d'Isaac Vossius, partisan inconditionnel de l'authenticité ³³, la dissertation d'Henry Dodwell (1698) entreprend de démontrer, avec une argumentation serrée, trop longue à résumer dans le cadre de cet article, que le texte produit par le manuscrit de Heidelberg est une composition tardive, réalisée dans le milieu des Grecs de Sicile ³⁴. L'érudit anglais ne remet

³⁰ B. NIHUSIUS, *Epistola philologica* ..., p. 11.

³¹ Cf. G. VARRERIUS, *Commentarius De Ophyra regione* (Rotterdam, 1616), ff. *5r-*7v (Bruxelles, BR, V.H. 15046 A); G. VOSSIUS, *De historicis graecis Libri quattuor* (Leyde, 1623), pp. 415-416 (Paris, BN, 8°J.10026). Notons en passant que Samuel Purchas signale également, mais pour les réfuter, les réticences des anciens à l'égard du "Périple"; cf. S. PURCHAS, *Purchas his Pilgrimes* ..., p. 77.

³² S. BOCHARTUS, *Geographiae sacrae pars altera* ..., p. 714.

³³ I. VOSSIUS, *Observationes* ..., pp. 208, 302-303, 305-306; *Variarum observationum Liber*, pp. 51-53.

³⁴ H. DODWELL, "Dissertatio prima ...", *passim*.

pas en cause le voyage lui-même; les Carthaginois ont très bien pu, selon lui, organiser une exploration des côtes occidentales de l'Afrique, vers la fin du IV^e siècle a.C., et en consigner les résultats par écrit au profit du milieu très restreint des commerçants et des armateurs. Par la suite, l'aventure a passionné le monde gréco-romain et a suscité maints récits plaisants, dans lesquels des événements réels se mêlaient à la fiction la plus débridée. Un premier faussaire a composé un rapport, dont Pomponius Méla et Pline se sont inspirés; un second faussaire s'est mis à son tour à la tâche, puisant largement dans l'œuvre de son prédécesseur; c'est à lui que remonte le texte du manuscrit de Heidelberg.

La présence d'éléments fantastiques, tels les torrents de feu dévalant vers la mer, et de références légendaires, figurant d'ailleurs exclusivement dans la tradition indirecte — on songe évidemment aux Gorgones, aux Amazones, aux Satyres et aux Pans rencontrés par Hannon — n'a pas manqué, elle aussi, d'intriguer certains de nos savants commentateurs. Il convient tout d'abord de noter, qu'avec une remarquable unanimité, ils ont prêté sans sourciller à l'amiral carthaginois les pensées et les réactions d'un Grec ou d'un Romain et lui ont attribué une vaste connaissance de leurs préjugés et de leur mythologie. La façon dont Giambattista Ramusio et Samuel Purchas expliquent le phénomène des torrents de feu est significative à cet égard. Tous deux avancent la thèse du mensonge délibéré. C'est précisément parce qu'il a bien atteint la zone équatoriale, qu'Hannon évite de décrire la végétation luxuriante et l'excessive humidité qu'il y a rencontrées. Car s'il avait dit la vérité, il n'aurait jamais été cru par ses contemporains, qui situaient à cette latitude une zone torride, désertique et inhabitable. L'amiral carthaginois, au fait des théories géographiques de l'école ionienne, de Parménide et d'Aristote sur l'organisation de l'œkoumène, se serait donc servi de celles-ci pour transmettre indirectement son message:

“Quant à la côte, qu'ils trouverent en feu, avec les ruisseaux, qui ardoient, et s'engorgoyent à grosses flammes dans la mer, le pilote disoyt, qu'Hanno en avoit parlé notamment et à bon escient, sans rien déguiser. Parquoy pour montrer à ceux, qui liront sa navigation, qu'elle approchoit de la ligne de l'Équinoxe, laquelle les Antiques, et mêmes les plus savans, et plus adroits à la lettre, croient fermement être cuyte, attisée, et brulée des feuz du Soleil, et que ce n'étoit tout, que brandons et trainées flambantes, il écrit qu'il veit la côte odorante, et parfumée avec ces fleuves de feu. Autrement s'il eût dit, qu'ès lieux, qui sont pres de l'Équinoxe, l'air étoit bon et paisible, et

toutes choses belles, guayes, et reverdissantes, on l'eût soudainement iugé le plus grand menteur du monde, et par ainsi qu'il en iazoit à plaisir sans y avoir été"³⁵.

"... yet augmented for greater wonder, as also are his fiery Rivers, that whereas the world talked of a fiery Zone, not habitable through heate, he might lye a little to save his credit from imputation of a greater liar, if he had reported the temperature neere the line"³⁶.

La même explication est avancée par Samuel Purchas à propos des fameuses Gorgones; Hannon aurait vu en réalité des singes, mais il n'a pas résisté au désir d'enjoliver sa découverte:

"The like humour of inclining to vulgar fancies appeareth in his tales of the Gorgones. And for the monstrous womens hairy skins, they might be of the Baboones of Pongos of those parts ..." ³⁷.

L'île aux Gorilles est d'ailleurs l'épisode qui a le plus retenu l'attention des humanistes et leur a régulièrement inspiré des interprétations évhéméristes. Comme Samuel Purchas, ils croient que l'amiral Hannon a rencontré des singes assez grands, qu'il a sciemment identifiés aux Gorgones de la mythologie. Cette irruption de la fable dans le récit de l'expédition ne les surprend nullement: elle est habituelle, lorsque les Anciens découvrent des singes, nous dit Nihus:

"Nosti enim ex Aristotele, Diodoro Siculo, Plinio, aliisque, Cynocephalos, Satyros, Cebos, Sphingos, nil nisi simias esse, et hominibus tamen accenseri suevisse, sine dubio quod πιθηκός revera sit quasi πάντα ῥηθικεύων"³⁸.

Elle est délibérée, selon Ramusio: en s'assimilant à Persée, le vainqueur des Gorgones, Hannon se présente comme un héros fondateur et entre à son tour dans la légende:

"Toutefois le pilot trouvoyt meilleur et plus vray-semblable, que Hanno eût cognu par les Poètes (que les Antiques avoyent en grand veneration) comme Persée étoyt venu par l'air à cette Ile, et qu'il en avoit raporté la tête de Meduse: ainsi luy ambitieux, desiroit donner entendre au peuple, qu'il avoit fort discouru par mer: et encore pour mieux exalter son voyage, et pour enseigne d'avoir outrepassé l'Ile des Gorgones, et autant fait comme Persée, il porta deux peaux des Gorgones, et les vouä au temple de Iuno. Ce que fut aisé à faire,

³⁵ Ramusio, dans la traduction de [J. TEMPORAL], *Historiale Description de l'Afrique* ..., f. **5r.

³⁶ S. PURCHAS, *Purchas his Pilgrimes* ..., p. 79.

³⁷ S. PURCHAS, *Purchas his Pilgrimes* ..., p. 79.

³⁸ B. NIHUSIUS, *Epistola philologica* ..., p. 6.

pource que la côte est couverte d'un millier de gros singes, qui ressemblent à hommes, qu'ils appellent Babouins, parquoy il faisoit entendre que les peaux de ces singes, étoient peaux de femmes"³⁹.

Quant à l'interprétation avancée par Isaac Vossius, elle va encore plus loin dans la voie de l'évhémérisme, puisqu'elle fait de l'expédition d'Hannon, rejetée à l'aube de l'histoire, le point de départ des mythes relatifs aux Gorgones, au jardin des Hespérides et aux aventures africaines de Persée et d'Héraclès. Le caractère lointain du voyage aurait créé un vide, dans lequel l'imagination se serait engouffrée (*ubi desinit cognitio, ibi fingendi incipit licentia*)⁴⁰:

"Cum enim non ex nihilo oriantur fabulae, unde demum tres Gorgones, nisi ex tribus Hannonis Gorgidibus, adsentiente etiam Palaephato? Unde Amaltheae seu Hesperidum cornu, nisi ex eiusdem nominis promontorio apud Hannonem? Sed et Poma aurea, quae ex Hesperidum hortis ad Oceanum sitis decerpisse dicitur Hercules, quis in Europam potuit adducere nisi Hanno, qui primus ista Oceani littora adiit et ex promontorio Soloentis nunc *Capite Viridi*, et ex Theôn ochemate nunc *Sierra Leone* dicto, ubi copiosissime proveniunt, primus istaec poma Europae intulit? Valent haec argumenta unde certo conficere possimus Hannonem praecessisse, aut saltem aequalem fuisse, temporibus Herculis et Persei"⁴¹.

De telles affirmations, non étayées par des faits, ne passeront pas inaperçues. Elles ne rallieront pas tous les suffrages et susciteront notamment les critiques solidement argumentées de Dodwell.

Nos érudits ne se sont cependant pas tous attardés sur ces Gorgones, Amazones, Égipans et Satyres rencontrés par Hannon. On notera, par exemple, que Joachim Vadianus (1522) rejette avec mépris dans les ténèbres de la fable les femelles évoquées par Pomponius Méla, qui conçoivent sans avoir commerce avec des mâles:

"... Quod autem sine marium concubitu gignant, fabulosum esse indubium est: nisi Zephyro, in quem inclinant, faecundas esse eas quis putet, eo modo quo in Hispania Asturum equae: concinnae enim illis et hae nugae"⁴².

³⁹ Ramusio, dans la traduction de [J. TEMPORAL], *Historiale Description de l'Afrique* ..., f. **5^r.

⁴⁰ I. VOSSIUS, *Observationes* ..., p. 305.

⁴¹ I. VOSSIUS, *Variarum Observationum Liber*, pp. 52-53.

⁴² J. VADIANUS, *Pomponii Melae De orbis situ libri tres, accuratissime emendati, una cum commentariis J.V. Helvetii castigatioribus, et multis in locis auctioribus factis* ... (Bâle, 1522), p. 215 (Bruxelles, BR, V.B. 7537).

Le plus souvent toutefois, ils se contentent, tels Ocampo, Gesner et Juan Mariana, de reproduire, sans les commenter, les informations véhiculées par les sources indirectes. Leur silence, leur absence de réaction s'expliquent sans doute par le poids de la tradition médiévale qui les avait accoutumés à découvrir dans les récits de voyage des descriptions de faits réels mêlées à des histoires merveilleuses ou fantastiques. La présence d'éléments fabuleux ne les surprenait donc pas⁴³.

Enfin, si le périple d'Hannon, connu soit à travers la version de Heidelberg, soit à travers les allusions des auteurs grecs et latins, a suscité bien des remarques sur des points précis, il semble également être le modèle antique auquel on se réfère volontiers lorsqu'on parle des voyages et des explorations contemporaines. Les allusions à l'exploit de l'amiral punique constituent en quelque sorte un *topos* obligé, que l'on utilise, avec des arrière-pensées, dans les collections de voyages comme dans des œuvres historiques. Ainsi, lorsque Florian d'Ocampo et Juan Mariana consacrent quelques paragraphes à l'expédition punique, ils prennent soin de nous avertir que l'équipage d'Hannon était espagnol et que le point de départ de l'expédition fut Cadix⁴⁴. Autrement dit, cette lointaine circumnavigation atteste déjà la grandeur et la puissance de l'Espagne. Luys del Marmol, de même, rend indirectement hommage à l'infant Henri le Navigateur, quand il nous raconte que le récit d'Hannon, comme d'ailleurs d'autres explorations de l'Antiquité, lui inspira le désir de rivaliser avec les découvreurs anciens⁴⁵. Quant à la brève allusion à l'entreprise carthaginoise que l'on trouve dans la *Cosmographie universelle* de Thevet (1575), elle ressemble fort à une prise de position personnelle autant que politique: ne souligne-t-elle pas la nécessaire collaboration qui doit unir les découvreurs de pays lointains et les souverains désireux d'accroître leurs territoires ou leur sphère d'influence?

"Hannon capitaine Carthaginois tant célébré des histoires n'eust entrepris le voyage d'Éthiopie, ne icelle illustrée sans les prieres de ses concitoyens. Ces grans personnages Nearco et Onesichrite ne fussent passez és Indes, ne icelles visitées, sans l'aide et confort

⁴³ Cf. à ce propos les réflexions fort intéressantes de Cl. KAPPLER, *Monstres, démons et merveilles à la fin du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1980), particulièrement les pp. 77-111 et de N. BROU, *La géographie de la Renaissance (1420-1620)* (Paris, 1980), pp. 15-19.

⁴⁴ F. d'OCAMPO, *Los cinco Libros* ..., f. 157: "Dela jornada grande que navego Hanon y sus Españoles ..." et *passim*; J. MARIANA, *Historiae* ..., pp. 38-43.

⁴⁵ L. del MARMOL, *Primera Parte de la Descrpcion general de Affrica* ..., ff. 45^v-46^r.

d'Alexandre le Grand, Godefroy de Buillon eust-il fait le voyage de la Palestine, sans Pierre l'Hermite qui luy facilita le chemin par sa description? Le Roy Catholique d'Espagne se fust-il impatronisé du Peru, Mexique et Cusques, sans ceux qui, curieux de nouveauté, ont decouvert ces païs la, et par leurs observations oculaires rendu les conquestes d'iceux aisées? Qui a fait les Portugais si grands Seigneurs en quelques endroits de l'Asie, sinon ceux qui l'ayans visitée, luy ont ouvert le chemin pour y donner attainte?"⁴⁶.

Ce recours au périple d'Hannon dans des contextes aussi variés permet donc de vérifier, une fois encore, la justesse de l'affirmation selon laquelle, pour la plupart des lettrés, "la découverte de l'Antiquité fut la première en date des Grandes Découvertes" à la Renaissance⁴⁷. Au XVI^e siècle, on regardait les événements contemporains avec les yeux des Grecs et des Romains; le texte de Thevet est, à ce propos, très révélateur.

Deux types de conclusions se dégagent dès lors de cette enquête. En premier lieu, les problèmes posés par la version de Heidelberg et par les autres témoignages antiques sont nettement perçus dès la parution de l'*editio princeps*. A l'instar des savants modernes, les humanistes et les compilateurs de voyages ne parviennent pas à se mettre d'accord pour localiser de façon indiscutable la navigation d'Hannon sur une carte de l'Afrique et pour dater celle-ci avec précision. Des discussions véhémentes, quoique amicales, les dresseront les uns contre les autres, comme Bartold Nihus critiquant ses devanciers ou Henry Dodwell réfutant les thèses défendues par Isaac Vossius. En outre, les exégètes du texte sont très tôt sensibles aux divergences qui opposent les différentes sources. Tantôt ils dénigrent les témoignages des auteurs grecs et latins, tantôt au contraire, ils jettent la suspicion sur le texte fourni par le manuscrit de Heidelberg. Le débat véritable ne semble toutefois s'instaurer qu'à la fin du XVII^e siècle.

En revanche, les réactions des lettrés du XVI^e et du XVII^e siècle face aux éléments légendaires qui se sont glissés dans le récit leur appartiennent en propre et sont le reflet fidèle des mentalités de l'époque. Quand ils s'étonnent de l'intrusion de la fable dans l'histoire — et nous avons

⁴⁶ A. THEVET, *La cosmographie universelle* ..., f. â2^{r-v}.

⁴⁷ G. Gusdorf cité par N. BROU, *La géographie de la Renaissance* ..., p. 9; cf. aussi F. de DAINVILLE, "L'enseignement de l'histoire et de la géographie et le 'ratio studiorum'", dans *Studi sulla Chiesa antica e sull'Umanesimo*, *Analecta gregoriana*, vol. LXX (Rome, 1954), pp. 155-156; P. VIDAL-NAQUET, "Hérodote et l'Atlantide", dans *Quaderni di Storia*, 16 (juillet-décembre 1982), p. 10.

vu qu'ils ne le faisaient pas toujours — ceux-ci recourent régulièrement aux explications évhéméristes en s'efforçant de dégager l'élément réel dissimulé sous les voiles du merveilleux et du fantastique.

On observera ensuite que, contrairement à d'autres textes antiques, le "périple d'Hannon" ne fonctionne pas comme une *auctoritas*. La critique interne des sources explique sans doute partiellement cette réticence des humanistes. Mais il est une autre cause, maintes fois suggérée: le "rapport" carthaginois n'est pas accepté tel quel parce qu'il a déjà été contesté par les auteurs grecs et latins eux-mêmes⁴⁸. Le dogme de l'infailibilité des Anciens ne pouvait donc jouer en sa faveur.

Néanmoins, si le contenu du "rapport" a été discuté, voire suspecté, la simple évocation du nom de l'amiral punique n'a cessé de faire surgir rêves et nostalgies. Nonobstant les avis des spécialistes, Hannon est devenu le modèle derrière lequel on s'abrite ou mieux encore l'illustre prédécesseur, dont on veut rééditer l'exploit légendaire et à qui on dispute une part d'immortalité⁴⁹.

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⁴⁸ A. GRAFTON a démontré brillamment combien les humanistes étaient sensibles aux jugements portés par les Anciens sur l'authenticité de telle ou telle œuvre. Cf. "Higher Criticism Ancient and Modern: The Lamentable Deaths of Hermes and the Sibyls", dans *The Uses of Greek and Latin. Historical Essays*. Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts. XVI (Londres, 1988), pp. 155-170.

⁴⁹ Déjà en 1291, l'exploit d'Hannon avait inspiré la navigation des frères Ugolino et Vadino Vivaldi, qui tentèrent la circumnavigation de l'Afrique et disparurent sans laisser de traces. Cf. J. HEERS, *Christophe Colomb*. coll. Marabout, (Paris, 1981), pp. 95-96.

Kerstin ISACSON

A STUDY OF NON-CLASSICAL FEATURES IN
BOOK XV OF OLAUS MAGNUS' *HISTORIA DE GENTIBUS
SEPTENTRIONALIBUS*, 1555*

I Introduction

The early Renaissance and the late Middle Ages is an interesting period not only for students of the history of ideas but also for philologists. In those days Italian humanists were taking a new interest in the Classics and their views gradually spread among European scholars. New grammars and dictionaries such as Laurentius Valla's *Elegantiarum linguae Latinae libri sex* and Niccolò Perotti's *Rudimenta Grammatices* helped them to rid themselves of the "barbarian" Latin of the Middle Ages¹.

Not until around the year 1500 did these new ideals reach Sweden². Olaus Magnus, who was born in Linköping in 1490 and who died in Rome in 1557, was part of this transitional period. He was Sweden's last archbishop of the Roman Catholic faith and the author of a work of great cultural and ethnographic interest — *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus* (1555). His earliest school years were probably devoted mainly to the study of texts from the late Classical period and the Middle Ages³. The new linguistic ideals cannot have remained unknown to him, however, since later in life he spent more than thirty years abroad.

Apart from Olaus Magnus' own statement that "for seven years" he has pursued his studies "conscientiously in German cities of the highest

* This paper was originally presented in May 1987 at the Latin Seminar of the University of Stockholm, directed by Professor Jan Öberg.

¹ IJsewijn, J., *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies* (Amsterdam-New York-Oxford 1977), p. 21f.

² Ibid., p. 16, p. 184.

³ Cf. Tengström, Emin, *Latinet i Sverige* (Lund 1973), p. 16ff concerning the teaching of Latin in medieval Sweden.

renown"⁴ very little is known about where he studied and what degree(s) he took.

While serving under King Gustav Vasa he visited, for instance, Rome, northern Germany, the Netherlands and Poland⁵. After breaking with the king he and his brother Johannes Magnus, who was archbishop of Sweden, settled in Italy as exiles. The two of them struggled indefatigably for the restoration of the Roman Catholic faith in Sweden. When Johannes Magnus died in 1544 Olaus Magnus succeeded him as archbishop. His participation in the synods of Vicenza and Trient gave him excellent opportunities for making useful contacts as did the long periods he spent in Rome trying to persuade the papal curia to take an interest in his cause⁶. His correspondence with men like the Polish bishop Johannes Dantiscus and the German theologian Johannes Cochlaeus⁷ made him well acquainted with what was going on in his time.

In 1539, Olaus Magnus published his *Carta Marina*⁸. For many years after this he was occupied with his great work *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus*, describing the Nordic countries and the manners and customs of their inhabitants and drawing on his own recollections as well as on second-hand information from classical and medieval sources. This description was printed in Rome in 1555 in St Birgitta's house, of which Olaus Magnus was then in charge⁹.

What effect did the new influences Olaus Magnus absorbed on the continent have on his Latin? He says in his preface to *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus* that his "miscellaneous reports have not been compiled with great, or mediocre, or perhaps even the slightest eloquence, or with powerful expressions and mighty words (as our learned contemporaries demand, weighing their words, so to speak, on a pair of scales)"¹⁰. He further states that he has used "a simple, intelligible, almost colloquial style with the intention of disclosing the true nature of hidden things rather than striving after the emptiness of

⁴ Grape, Hjalmar, *Olaus Magnus — forskare, moralist, konstnär* (Stockholm 1970), p. 23.

⁵ Ibid., p. 51ff.

⁶ Ibid., p. 66ff.

⁷ Ibid., p. 56ff, p. 74ff.

⁸ Ibid., p. 96. Reprint: Malmö 1949. See also Knauer Elfriede R., *Die Carta Marina des Olaus Magnus von 1539* (Bamberg 1981).

⁹ Ibid., pp. 114-121, p. 235.

¹⁰ Magnus, Olaus, *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus*, 1555, Facsimile of the First Edition (Copenhagen 1972), p. 4: ... *quod et meis rapsodiis attribuendum puto: quae si non*

high-sounding words”¹¹. Is this the usual manifestation of false modesty or does it reveal that Olaus Magnus felt inadequate to the task he had undertaken? Is he criticizing the style of the Renaissance?

II Method of investigation

II.1 Material

In the present investigation a selection of texts from book XV of *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus* was analysed with regard to vocabulary, morphology and syntax. My aim was to get an indication of to what extent the characteristics of Late Latin and Medieval Latin survive in Olaus Magnus' own work. Consequently, all passages, which (judging from the author's own statements and/or Granlund's notes on the text¹²) seem to have been borrowed from some written source, were deliberately excluded, irrespective of whether they are literal transcriptions or free paraphrases. In cases where this resulted in a fragmentary and incoherent text, the whole section was excluded.

The investigation was based on the following passages¹³:

<i>chapter</i>	<i>lines</i>	<i>chapter</i>	<i>lines</i>
I	1-7, 9-18	XXI	1-15, 18-24
III	1-9	XXII	1-19
VI	1-20	XXIII	1-22
VIII	1-26	XXIII	1-12, 19-29
IX	1-19	XXVII	1-23
X	1-25	XXX	1-11
XI	17-30	XXXI	1-7
XII	1-14	XXXII	1-26
XIII	1-26	XXXIII	1-16, 23-28
XV	5-18	XXXIII	1-5, 14-32
XVIII	1-22	XXXV	4-16, 17-27
XIX	14-30	XXXVI	1-7, 8-15
XX	1-20		

summa, vel mediocri, aut fortassis minima eloquentia, gravitate, verborumve pondere (ut haec docta aetas requirit, et singula quaeque tanquam ad bilancem expendit, examinatque) congestae sunt

¹¹ Ibid., p. 7: ... *simplici, eodemque plano, ac vulgari paene dicendi modo, rerum abstrusarum veritatem potius, quam inanum verborum splendorem secutus, exolvere in animo habui.*

¹² Granlund's notes are to be found in the Swedish edition (see bibliography).

¹³ All the references below are to the Facsimile of the First Edition (see bibliography).

This gave me a text of roughly 4500 words. Since book XV mainly deals with military training, warfare and amusements, such as music, dancing and various games, the vocabulary is fairly specialized, which must be taken into account when judging the results.

II.2 Principles of classification

Vocabulary

When analysing the vocabulary, I tried to record all the words and meanings (except personal names, place names, the names of nations etc.), which — according to Lewis & Short, *A Latin Dictionary* and/or *Oxford Latin Dictionary* — have not been found in classical, non-technical prose from the period 80 B.C. - 14 A.D. These words were then classified and divided into the following categories:

- Ia: Words and meanings found in pre-classical prose and/or poetry but not in texts dating from 80 B.C. - 600 A.D.
- Ib: Words and meanings found both in pre-classical texts and in texts dating from 80 B.C. - 180 A.D., but which were avoided in classical prose.
- Ic: Words and meanings found both in pre-classical texts and in Late Latin (180 - 600 A.D.), but which were avoided in classical prose.
- II: Words and meanings whose earliest instances have been found in technical or everyday prose dating from 80 B.C. - 14 A.D. and/or in poetry from that period.
- III: Words and meanings whose earliest instances have been found in post-classical prose and/or poetry (14 - 180 A.D.).
- IV: Words and meanings whose earliest instances have been found in Late Latin prose and/or poetry (180 - 600 A.D.).
- V: Words and meanings whose earliest instances have been found in medieval prose and/or poetry (600 - 1500).
- VI: Words and meanings whose earliest instances have been found after 1500.
- VII: The rest, i.e. words and meanings that I have not been able to find in the dictionaries available.

Morphology and syntax

Morphology and syntax were treated similarly to vocabulary. I tried to record the inflected forms and constructions that — according to handbooks — are not in accordance with classical usage (i.e. literary,

non-technical prose from the period 80 B.C. - 14 A.D.). I also attempted to classify them according to the following categories:

- A: Features characteristic of pre-classical Latin
- B: Features characteristic of post-classical Latin
- C: Features characteristic of Late Latin
- D: Features characteristic of medieval Latin
- E: Other deviations from standard classical usage

Abbreviations used below are explained in the bibliography.

II.3 Problems of classification

Vocabulary

As regards dictionaries covering the period before 600 A.D., practical circumstances forced me to rely largely on Lewis & Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (and to some extent on *Oxford Latin Dictionary*). *Thesaurus linguae Latinae* was consulted to decide on doubtful cases. The lack of comprehensive, reliable dictionaries covering later periods and the fact that existing dictionaries often follow different, sometimes contradictory, principles makes it difficult to discuss nuances of meaning and to give dates for the coining of new words. Consequently, arbitrariness cannot be completely avoided. In this study, the adjective *portentosus* (XV: 16) "hideous" was regarded as classical, although in the text it is used in an abstract sense (cf. L&S p. 1401). On the other hand, *naulerus* (L&S "a ship-owner, a ship-master, a skipper") referring to a common sailor (XXII:3) was classified as non-classical. A few combinations of words such as *singulare certamen* (XVIII:21) "single combat" were considered to be compounds. No attention was paid to minor differences of orthography.

Recenti in recentique quidam solo capite ..., mox interiire (VI:16-18) is very odd and I have not yet been able to come up with a satisfactory explanation.

Morphology and syntax

It goes without saying that there are no precise boundaries between the different periods. Language usage develops and spreads gradually. This is even more obvious concerning morphology and syntax. As a result, I decided also to include a few constructions which are rare in classical prose but considered characteristic of another period.

III Findings

As in most school grammars, morphology is treated before syntax. Pronouns and prepositions, however, are dealt with separately between the two sections. A few items that might be considered to belong to vocabulary are also treated there for practical reasons.

III.1 Vocabulary

As regards vocabulary, the investigation yielded 291 words or meanings which have not been found in classical texts. Their distribution was as follows:

<i>category</i>	<i>number of items</i>
Ia	2
Ib	23
Ic	3
II	41
III	73
IV	76
V	48
VI	4
VII	21
	<hr/>
total	291

A list of all the words can be found in the appendix, which also provides information about their meaning, place(s) of occurrence in the text and references to dictionaries. In groups I-III words, which, judging from the examples provided by L&S and OLD, are found mainly in poetry, have been asterisked.

It is difficult to distinguish any particular categories in groups I-III, either semantically or from the point of view of word formation.

Late Latin

As could be expected, among the 76 words classified as Late Latin, there are quite a number denoting new concepts. Eleven of them belong to the fields of church and religion — *archiepiscopus*, *beatus* = "saint", *clericus*, *Diabolus*, *divus* = "saint", *haereticus*, *monachalis*, *monachus*, *monasterium*, *mundus* = "this world", *spiritus*, while others reflect social structure and administration — *magnas* = "a great man",

provincia = "a region" and *regnicola* = "a dweller in a kingdom". We also find expressions concerning warfare — *conflictus* = "a fight", *framea* = "a sword", how people earned their living — *piscatura* = "fishing"; body and health — *ocularis*, *phlebotomia* = "blood-letting" and *pudor* = "private parts".

Apart from the Greek, mainly ecclesiastical, contribution (ten words), the group consists only of Latin stems. 30 words have been recorded in a different sense before 180 A.D. Some meanings have become restricted (e.g. *mundus*). The originally abstract *pudor* has developed a concrete sense. The opposite is the case with *apprehendere* = "to understand" and others.

Derivational suffixes account for most of the new coinages — nouns (e.g. *absconsio*, *garritus*) as well as adjectives (e.g. *seriosus*, *momentaneus*), adverbs (e.g. *perspicaciter*) and verbs (*salvare*). There are, however, a few prefixed words (e.g. *connatus*) and compounds (e.g. *nullibi*).

Medieval Latin

One relatively large group among the 48 words classified as medieval concerns weapons and warfare — *arcualis*, *ballista* = "a cross-bow", *bombarda* = "a gun", *hastiludium* = "tilt", *insultus* = "an attack", *Martialis* = "warlike", *singulare certamen* = "single combat", and *torneamentum*. Other fields represented are biology and geography — *abietinus*, *absyntiacus*, *intercutaneus*, *Papagallus*, *ultramarinus*; social structure and occupations — *barbitonsor*, *comes*, *curia* = "the king's court", *eques auratus* = "a knight", *satelles* = "a non-knighted member of the gentry"; the church — *carnisprivium* = "the beginning of Lent", *ordo*, *prior*; dancing and games — *campanula*, *chorisare*, *schacus*, and time — *Maialis* and *vigilia* = "the day before a festival".

Only a small number of words contain Greek elements (e.g. *absynthiacus*, *scandalosus*), while *Papagallus* and *Schacus* could be labelled "foreign".

26 words had been recorded in a different sense before the year 600, 24 of them before 180. *Ballista*, *comes* and *ordo* are entirely new inventions and concepts which have "inherited" already existing terms. In most cases, though, there is only a slight shift of meaning, as in *favorabilis* = "biased" (cf. L&S "winning favour"; i.e. deterioration of meaning) and *pomum* = "apple" (cf. L&S "fruit"; i.e. narrowing of meaning)¹⁴.

¹⁴ When no reference to a dictionary is given, the information was supplied by L&S.

Two diminutives (*campanula* and *verbulum*) and a verb formed by means of the Greek suffix *-is* (*chorisare*) are to be found among the new derivatives. Compounds are not infrequent (e.g. *barbitonsor*, *carnispri-vium*).

Neo-Latin

Only four words were classified as Neo-Latin — *Lutheranus* (La 1523), *tormentum* = "a gun" (La 1535) and the adjectives *proiectilis* (La 1686) and *sexangularis* (Ba 1874). Of course, the last two may well have been widely used long before the dates given in the dictionaries I consulted. Both of them are of regular Latin coinage (cf. L&S *angularis*, *triangularis*) and they both exist in modern Italian (cf. Reynolds *proiettile*, *sestangolare*).

There remain 21 words and meanings that I have been unable to find in the dictionaries available. Eleven of them are new derivatives, most of which are formed according to classical word-patterns — *betuleus* (cf. *betula*), *floralis* (cf. *flos* and *floralis*), *scapharius* (cf. *scapha*) and *urinatorius* (cf. *urinator* = "a diver"). The predilection for long words and intensifying prefixes characteristic of Late Latin and subsequent periods manifests itself in *applausibilis* = "laudable" (cf. Cicero's *plausibilis* and pre-classical and Late Latin *applaudere*), *perceleber* = "very frequent" (cf. the adjective *celeber* and the verb *percelebrare*) and *sagittatorius* (cf. *sagittarius* which is both an adjective and a noun). The Greek prefix *proto-* (*protomimus* = "a court-jester") is particularly striking. It appears to have been fairly common in post-classical Latin and in Late Latin (cf. L&S *protomysta*, *protoplastus* etc. and Italian *protomedico*).

The twelve remaining words were all recorded in another sense before the year 600, ten even before 180. In some cases it is easy to see how the new meaning developed. For instance, *campester* = "rural" is very close to its basic meaning of "pertaining to a plain". *Stertens* = "dull, idle" is easily derived from *stertere* = "to snore". *Praelibare* = "to sample" has given us *praelibatus* = "flavoured" and from *immunis* = "free from" we have got "unscathed". The abstract *dominium* = "ownership" has developed a concrete sense "a house, an estate". Metonymy explains *ventosa* = "cupping" (cf. Nierm. "cupping-glass"). *Recensere* (cf. L&S "to count, to examine, to revise") is used as a synonym of *narrare*¹⁵. *Vaporarium* is used about the entire building not

¹⁵ Cf. Du Cange: *recensere pro narrare non est Latinis ignotum*.

just the “steam-pipe”. *Pyrrhicus* = “of fire” might be due to influence from Italian *pirico*¹⁶.

Discussion of findings

My definition of classical Latin is quite narrow. Some scholars claim that the classical period ended in 120 A.D. or even later¹⁷. In Olaus Magnus’ day too, opinions were divided between “the Ciceronians” on the one hand and the more pragmatic scholars on the other¹⁸. Even with a more lenient attitude, however, one can hardly judge Olaus Magnus’ vocabulary as classicizing. In groups IV-VII, only some 30 out of 149 examples can be said to be “indispensable” in the sense that they denote new concepts or inventions. It is not difficult to understand why Olaus Magnus prefers a Late Latin adverb like *aequanimiter* to a paraphrase. Not rarely, however, there are classical synonyms available — cf. *absconsio* (Cic. *occultatio*), *nullibi* (Cic. *nusquam*), *cordatus* (cf. Cic. *animosus*). He sometimes uses both a classical word and a later synonym. This is the case with, for example, *congressus* (XX: 19) — *congressio* (XXI: 10) and *gladius* (XXIII: 3) — *framea* (XXIII: 3). Occasionally, these synonyms are found in juxtaposition, just as in *hastiludiis nauticis, seu scaphariis* (XXII).

Even if we make allowance for the fact that, as a rule, languages have few perfect synonyms and that authors may have reasons for choosing a particular word, it is evident that what Olaus Magnus says about his own choice of words is fairly accurate. Whether he did not care or whether his knowledge of Latin was insufficient is quite another question.

III.2 Morphology

Regarding morphology, only a few deviations from the ancient classical norms were found.

¹⁶ Considering that Olaus Magnus lived in Italy for many years, one should not disregard the possibility that Italian may have influenced his vocabulary to some extent. Interesting parallels can also be drawn concerning some of the words in group V: *applausus* — cf. *applauso* = “cheering”, *artificiose* — cf. *artifiziose* = “artificial”, *barbitonsor* — cf. *barbitonsor* = “barber”, *deputare* — cf. *deputare* = “to appoint”, *reputatio* — cf. *reputazione* = “reputation” and *resultare* — cf. *risultare* = “to result”.

¹⁷ Cf. Benner-Tengström, *On the Interpretation of Learned Neo-Latin* (Göteborg 1977), p. 41, where the line is drawn in 180 A.D. and K. Strecker-Palmer, *Introduction to Medieval Latin Studies* (Dublin [1957] 1968), p. 20, where the classical period ends with Suetonius.

¹⁸ Cf. Benner-Tengström, p. 42ff, p. 62 and IJsewijn, p. 240ff.

III.2.1 Nouns

Arcubus (VI: 5; XXIII: 4), first recorded in Donatus, is Late Latin (cf. L&S, Leumann p. 444)¹⁹. *Glacies* as a plural form (VIII: 17) occurs as early as in Virgil (cf. L&S), but like *specierum* (XXIII: 20) it did not become frequent until the Late Latin period (cf. L&S; Leumann p. 445).

The ablative singular *solatia* (VIII: 5) is probably a medieval coinage (cf. La). Normally, however, Olaus Magnus uses the second declension noun *solatium* (e.g. XXXI: 5). A similar confusion of declensions explains the ablative singular *ventro* (XXII: 5) from *venter* = “stomach”.

III.2.2 Adjectives

Fortiori (XIII: 12), *sublimiori* (XIX: 26, XXVII: 8, XXXIII: 21), *maiori* (XXVII: 15) and *priori* (XXII: 8) are all comparatives taking the “medieval” ablative singular ending *-i*. The “normal” ending *-e* occurs only once — *acutiore* (XXX: 8; cf. Svennung § 39).

III.3 Pronouns

In medieval texts the pronouns *eius* and *sui* and the possessive adjective *suus* are often confused (cf. Svennung § 46). This is not very common in book XV. In *Sueci* ... *iactantiae eius*/ sc. *Holsati*/ *satisfacere cogitantes*, *monachum* ... *Prioris sui*/ sc. *monachi*/ *conniventia sistunt* (XIX: 19-23) and *reliquos* ... *suae*/ sc. *Holsati*/ *insolentiae sectatores* ... *ab equis eiecit*/ sc. *monachus*/ (XIX: 24-25), *sui* and *suae* refer neither to the grammatical subject nor to the “real” subject (cf. Ernout § 210). Two very dubious instances of *eorum* referring to the subject of a clause were found in XI: 24 (... *quidam impurissimi mercatores* ... *extra dominia eorum*, *et portam civitatis ministerio tortorum educti, perpetuo sunt proscripti*) and XXII: 14 (... *videantur, quam fortes, experti, ac animosi sint nautae in eorum torneamentis*...). In most cases, though, it is possible to defend Olaus Magnus' choice of pronoun or adjective. There may be some “hidden” subject or some other factor in the clause that should be taken into account. Besides, it appears that even in antiquity the distinction was not always quite clear (cf. L-H-Sz p. 175).

¹⁹ The ablative plural ending *-ubus* occurs also in *portubus* (XXII: 12), which — according to L&S — is less correct than *portibus*.

The reciprocal expression *se invicem* dates from Late Latin (cf. L-H-Sz p. 177). In *mutua aemulatione seipsos invicem ... superare contendunt* (I: 11), it gains further emphasis by the addition of *ipse*.

Instead of a demonstrative pronoun, Olaus Magnus has *praedictus* twice (XI: 29, XXI: 6) and *praesens* once (IV: 7). These were very common in Late Latin and medieval Latin (cf. Svennung §47; L-H-Sz p. 183, 187).

III.4 Prepositions

Absque for *sine* (XIII: 26) is typical of the archaistic writers of the post-classical period and of Late Latin (cf. Ernout §136; L-H-Sz p. 258). Also *iuxta* = *secundum* (I: 6) and *versus* as a preposition (VIII: 8, XI: 18) go back to Late Latin (cf. L-H-Sz p. 221, 236).

The investigation also yielded two instances of prepositional phrases which would not be accepted by school grammars. In *ut talibus tormentis, et globis in plano contingant signa* (VI: 6-7) and *hi ... in equis ignivomos globos eiiciunt in aspicientes* (IX: 8-9), there seems to be a participle missing, say *posita* and *sedentes*, respectively. According to L-H-Sz p. 428, however, this kind of construction is frequently used in Livy and occurs also in Cicero.

III.5 Syntax

III.5.1 Case

A small number of verbs take other cases than the norm generally requires. *Avertere* is followed by a dative (VI: 14) instead of an ablative or the preposition *ab* (cf. L&S), *docere* by a dative (X: 5) instead of two accusatives (cf. L-H-Sz p. 88). *Congredi* (XVIII: 17, XIX: 23, XX: 13) and *pati* (XIX: 23) also take datives (cf. L&S, L-H-Sz p. 88).

III.5.2 The degrees of comparison

Superius = "above" twice (XIII: 11, XXXII: 8) occurs for the classical adverb *supra* (cf. XXXIII: 3). L-H-Sz (p. 250) characterizes this usage as typical of the post-classical period and of Late Latin.

Intensifying *amplius* in connection with a comparative — as in *haec peramplius verior esse iudicatur* (XXXIII: 18), where emphatic *per-* is also added — belongs to Late Latin (cf. L-H-Sz p. 167).

In colloquial Latin a comparative might well be the equivalent of a

superlative. This tendency was generalized in Late Latin (cf. L-H-Sz p. 162) and grew prevalent during the Middle Ages. In the text three instances involving more than two objects or persons were found (VI: 9, XXII: 16, XXX: 4).

Furthermore, the merging of the three degrees of comparison, which originated in classical times, is obvious in *ob placidum clarissimarum, ac illustrium virginum et matronarum favorem habitum, aut habendum* (XVIII: 11-12), where a superlative and a positive are co-ordinated (cf. L-H-Sz p. 168).

III.5.3 Tense

Medieval writers tended to confuse their tenses, and showed a predilection for long verb forms (cf. Svennung § 57). Olaus Magnus has examples such as *absque exercitiis fuerat* (= erat) *educatus* (XIII: 26; cf. also III: 1, XIII: 11, XVIII: 1).

III.5.4 Infinitives and participles

As in Medieval Latin *fore* is used for *esse* (XX: 7, XXXIII: 13, XXXV: 24, cf. Ham.).

Apuleius was the first prose writer to use the ablative absolute with *licet*. In poetry it appeared as early as in Ovid (cf. L-H-Sz p. 140). Only one example was found in the text — *equis licet directe concurrentibus* (XX: 3-4).

III.5.5 The gerund

Even in Livy, an ablative of the gerund can be similar in meaning to a present participle. The post-classical period provides numerous examples, especially from colloquial Latin, and as early as the third century this usage had become generalized. It was very common in medieval authors (cf. L-H-Sz p. 380; Svennung § 60). The investigation yielded ten examples, e.g. *populus omnis ... gesta ... saltando decantat* (X: 5-10)²⁰.

III.5.6 The gerundive

In classical Latin only a limited number of verbs could take the gerundive used predicatively in connection with a direct object. They

²⁰ For other examples cf. IX: 5, X: 16, XII: 11, XIII: 16, XIII: 17, XXI: 7, XXIII: 11, XXIII: 6, XXVII: 6.

became more numerous in Late Latin (cf. L-H-Sz p. 371f). In book XV *ostendere* (VI: 4-5 *sagittarii... peritiam publico aspectui aestimandam ostendant*), *docere* (X: 4-5) and *praecipere* (X: 4-5) take this construction.

III.5.7 Subordinate clauses

In indirect interrogative clauses classical Latin generally has the subjunctive. The indicative belongs to the pre-classical period and to colloquial Latin (cf. L-H-Sz p. 537f). The investigation yielded eleven instances of the subjunctive and four instances of the indicative. It should be noted that all the indicative forms were found in chapter X, where there is also one example of the subjunctive.

Furthermore regarding subordinate clauses, we find a few features which are usually regarded as characteristic of Late Latin and medieval Latin. Twice (XII: 11, XXVII: 23) Olaus Magnus has *quod* for consecutive *ut*, which belongs to the post-classical period (cf. L-H-Sz p. 581f). *Quatenus* instead of final *ut* dates from Late Latin (XXVII: 20; cf. L-H-Sz p. 656). Consecutive *ut* taking the indicative (XXXV: 24; cf. L-H-Sz p. 639), temporal *ut* taking the subjunctive when referring to a single event (XIX: 14; cf. L-H-Sz p. 636) and causal *quod* followed by the subjunctive (XXXI: 1; cf. L-H-Sz p. 275) can also be classified as Late Latin. Another possible influence from Late Latin is that the subjunctive (five instances), apparently with no reason, alternates with the indicative (three instances) in explicative clauses introduced by *quod*. The indicative is normally used even in post-classical Latin (cf. L-H-Sz p. 575). *Nempe quod* for *scilicet quod* (VIII: 7) is strange.

One of the most striking characteristics of medieval Latin — the accusative and infinitive being replaced by a clause introduced by *quod* (cf. Svennung §71) — is extremely rare, possibly as a result of the principles I followed when choosing texts for my investigation. A total of eleven instances of the accusative and infinitive were found, as compared with only one “quod-clause” (XXIII: 21-22).

Also worth noting is *an... aut* in an indirect interrogative clause (XII: 8-12) for *utrum... an* or *-ne... an* (cf. L-H-Sz p. 466).

Discussion of findings

This list of deviations from the norm of classical grammar is not overwhelming. In most cases there are only isolated examples. There are exceptions, however, e.g. comparatives taking the ablative ending *-i*

and gerunds in the ablative replacing a present participle²¹. Since some "major" deviations occur mainly in certain chapters — e.g. X and XIX — it is far from unlikely that Olaus Magnus copied them from some written source unknown to us²².

In spite of the fact that the text does not abound in features presumed to be typical of medieval Latin and Late Latin, the reader is not impressed by Olaus Magnus' style. My main impression is that his Latin is clumsy and unidiomatic, although it is sometimes difficult to state exactly what is wrong. In addition to what was mentioned above, there are mistakes concerning concord (XXII: 10), *constructio ad sensum* (VI: 12, VIII: 23), dubious instances of the ablative absolute (VIII: 5, XXIII: 4)²³, anacolutha (XIII: 17-26, XXI: 1-7, XXII: 10-14) and other irregular constructions like *eoque duriores se simulat ... quo stiriae glaciales dependere videntur* VIII: 17f; cf. L-H-Sz p. 592). Abundant use of synonyms and a certain verbosity are also characteristic of his style (cf. XIII: 23 *durante vita salvatus*, XVIII: 7 *certa alia suadente ratione*). The reader gets the feeling that Olaus Magnus tried to avoid constructions which might offend his "learned contemporaries", but that out of lack of self-confidence and, perhaps, fear of being misinterpreted, he was led to express himself in a more complicated way than he was actually able to master.

IV Summary

The present investigation, limited to a selection of passages from book XV, indicates that Olaus Magnus tried to avoid the most obvious characteristics of medieval Latin. It is hardly possible, though, to regard his Latin as "classical", at least not in a narrow sense. His text contains comparatively few strikingly non-classical words. Yet, approximately 300 do not agree with the norm I used. Many of the words existed in Antiquity but their meanings have shifted. Some are new coinages formed according to classical word patterns. Only a small number are "indispensable" for denoting new concepts and inventions.

As regards grammar, there is a mixture of classical and non-classical

²¹ As regards the latter construction, Benner-Tengström p. 76 claims that contemporary grammars did not put any restrictions on its use.

²² Concerning chapter XIX, Granlund (cf. note 13) vol. 3 p. 309 says that the source is unknown to us, but that Olaus Magnus is probably recording an oral tradition.

²³ In XXIII: 4 *Arcubus enim, seu circulis inclusis 'inclusis'* might be a misprint for *inclusi*.

features. As expected, morphology does not differ much from the norm, while deviations concerning syntax are more numerous. It is worth noting that some of the deviations which are usually regarded as characteristic of medieval texts (e.g. the distinction between *eius*, *sui*, *suus* and the question of mood in indirect interrogative clauses) are quite rare, while others (e.g. an ablative of the gerund replacing a present participle) are more frequent. The number of examples is too small to allow any far-reaching conclusions, but the very mixture of the "correct" and the "incorrect" points to the author being uncertain of his language. Although it was a matter of convention that the author should criticize his own work in his preface, Olaus Magnus no doubt felt the need to justify his Latin.

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Appendix

A list of words and meanings that occur in chapter XV, but which — according to L&S and/or OLD — have not been recorded in classical, non-technical prose from the period 80 B.C. - 14 A.D.

h = the word occurs in a chapter heading

m = the word occurs in a marginal heading

* = judging from the examples provided by L&S and OLD, the word occurs mainly in poetry (during that particular period)

Ia Words and meanings found in pre-classical prose and/or poetry but not in texts dating from 80 B.C. - 600 A.D.:

<i>item</i>	<i>meaning</i>	<i>place(s) of occurrence</i>	<i>references to dictionaries</i>
*gymnasticus	gymnastic	XXIII: 4	L&S
*mutuare	borrow	IX: 3	L&S

Ib Words and meanings found both in pre-classical texts and in texts dating from 80 B.C. - 180 A.D., but which were avoided in classical prose:

*absque	without	XIII: 26	L&S
*aliquantisper	for some time	XXXV: 23	L&S
*blandiloquus	speaking flatteringly	X: 20	L&S
*cantio	a song	X: 13, 21	L&S
*chorda	a rope	XI: 23	L&S

*cinnamomum	cinnamon	XXXVI: 3	L&S
*civitas	a city	VIII: 23, XI: 18, 24	L&S
congressio	an attack	XXI: 10	L&S
cyminum	cumin	XIII: 25	L&S
*exoticus	foreign	XXX: m, XXXII: h, m	L&S
*fatuus	a fool, a jester	XXXIII: h, 2, 11	L&S
garrulus	chattering	X: 18, XXI: 1, 7	L&S
garrulitas	chattering	XXI: m	OLD
*inverecundus	shameless	XXXV: m	L&S
*lateralis	of or belonging to the side	XXIII: 14	L&S
liticen	a trumpeter	XXX: 1	L&S
pertica	a pole	XIII: 7	L&S
*praeliaris	of or belonging to a battle	XVIII: 9	L&S
*procedere	to arise	XXXIII: 19	OLD
ruta	rue	XXXVI: 5	OLD
scabellum	a low stool	XXXIII: 12	L&S
*sublimis	that is situated high up	VIII: 9, XIII: 21, XIX: 26	OLD
*tintinabulum	a small bell	XXIII: 10	L&S

Ic Words and meanings found both in pre-classical texts and in Late Latin (180-600 A.D.), but which were avoided in classical prose:

alternatim	alternately	X: 14, XXVII: 17	L&S
*receptio	a reception	VIII: h	L&S
victoriosus	victorious	VIII: 17	L&S

II Words and meanings whose earliest instances have been found in technical or everyday prose dating from 80 B.C. - 14 A.D. and/or in poetry from that period:

aestivalis	pertaining to summer	VIII: 21, m	L&S
arcticus	northern	VIII: 8	L&S
*armifer	armed	XXIII: h	L&S
*attestari	confirm	VI: 20	L&S
aula	a palace	XXVII: 1	L&S
charta	a sheet (of paper)	XXXI: 2	L&S
*chorea	a dance	X: 8, XI: 21, XXIII: 2	L&S
continue	all the time	I: 13	L&S
decor	what is seemly	XVIII: 16	L&S
*experientia	experience	XXVII: 14	L&S
*famosus	famous	XI: 27	L&S
*fastidiosus	disgusting	XXXIII: 1	L&S
*fastus	haughtiness	XIX: 17	L&S

*festum	a holiday, festival	X: h	L&S
*flagellare	to whip	XXXIII: 25	L&S
*fluentum	running water	XXXV: 8	L&S
gloriola	a small glory	XXI: 8	L&S
*gurgēs	waters, sea	XXII: 6	L&S
*haustus	drinking	IX: 17	L&S
*innocuus	innocent	XXXII: 19	L&S
*innumerus	innumerable	VI: 1	L&S
*irreparabilis	irretrievable	XXXIII: 31	L&S
*lassare	to tire	XXXVI: 4	L&S
latrunculus	a man, a pawn	XII: 7	L&S
*ligare	to tie	XXII: 5	L&S
*montosus	mountainous	VIII: 9	L&S
nugax	frivolous	X: 18, XXI: 18	L&S
*obesus	fat	XIII: 16	L&S
*omnigenus	of all kinds	XII: 3	L&S
passio	passion	XII: 4, 7	OLD
*princeps	a prince	VI: 13, 19, XVIII: 1	L&S
*resolvere	to disclose, show	X: 16	L&S
*resumere	to recover	XXVII: 11	L&S
rhythmus	rhythm	X: 13, XXXIII: 25	L&S
Septentrionalis	northern	VIII: 1, XXIII: 1, XXVII: 1	L&S
*stiria	icicle	VIII: 18	L&S
sublimis	distinguished	XXXI: 4, XXXIII: 21	L&S
*sulphureus	sulphurated	XXXV: 11, m	L&S
tilia	linden	IX: 11	L&S
versatilis	movable	VI: 8	L&S
*virescere	to become green	X: 1	L&S

III Words and meanings whose earliest instances have been found in post-classical prose and/or poetry (14 - 180 A.D.):

adaquare	to water	XV: 13	L&S
adigere	to subject	XXII: 11	L&S
adulatorius	flattering	XXXIII: 25	L&S
alioquin	otherwise, else	XXXIII: 19	L&S
anisum	anise	XIII: 25, XXXVI: 15	L&S
aquaticus	aquatic	XXII: 10	L&S
austeritas	severity (about the weather)	IX: 3	L&S
bellicrepus	warlike, armed	XXIII: 22	L&S
cervisia	beer	XXVII: 10	L&S
clanculo	secretly	IX: 12	L&S
clementia	calmness (of the weather)	IX: 2	L&S
collisio	collision, clash	XXIII: 14	L&S

compendium	an easy method	VI: 13	OLD
crustatus	covered with an incrustation	VIII: 16	L&S
cursorius	pertaining to a race-course	XV: m	L&S
daemonium	an evil spirit	XXXIII: 30	L&S
deceptor	a deceiver	XXXII: 16	L&S
defectus	a bodily defect	XX: 13	L&S
delectabilis	delightful	XXVII: m	L&S
dies feriatus	a holiday	VI: 3	L&S
distantia	distance	IV: 8	L&S
diversitas	diversity	XXXIII: 1	L&S
evaginare	to unsheath	XXIII: 10	L&S
exercitium	exercise	I: h, XIII: h, XV: 11	OLD
exinde	therefore	XIX: 18	L&S
expandere	to spread out	XVIII: 13	L&S
factitius	artificial	IX: m	L&S
globare	to make into a ball	VIII: 16	L&S
gloriabundus	exulting	XXI: m	L&S
hexagonum	a six-sided figure	XXIII: 12	L&S
iactabundus	boasting	XIX: m	L&S
iactantia	bragging	XIX: 19	L&S
iactor	a braggart	XIX: 23, m	L&S
*impetuosus	violent	XXII: 4	L&S
impossibilis	impossible	XX: 5	L&S
indumentum	a garment	VIII: 21	L&S
inhabitare	to inhabit	XI: 26	L&S
inspectio	examination	XXIII: 17	L&S
modulatio	singing and playing	XXX: 4	L&S
negotiator	a tradesman	X: 19	L&S
numerosus	numerously	XXIII: 9	L&S
omnimodus	of all kinds	VI: 4	L&S
organum hydraulicum	an organ	XXX: 2	L&S
ostiolum	a little door	XIII: 21	L&S
otiosus	useless	XXVII: 5	L&S
persona	a human being	XXXV: 8	L&S
pinguedo	fatness	XIII: 21, m, XXXVI: m	L&S
praedictus	before mentioned	XI: 29, XXI: 6	L&S
praesultor	one who dances before others	XXIII: 5	L&S
praevalere	to be of great efficacy	XIII: 26	L&S
praevalere	to prevail	XXXVI: 2	L&S
privilegium	a privilege	VI: 10	L&S

pruritus	itching	XXXVI: 12	L&S
relatio	a report	XXXII: 12	L&S
restringere	to restrain	XIII: 15	L&S
retrogradus	going backwards	XXIII: 15	L&S
rixosus	quarrelsome	X: 18, XXI: 3	L&S
saccharon	a kind of sugar	XXXVI: 3	L&S
sagittare	to shoot with arrows	I: 15	L&S
scaturire	to gush forth	XXXV: 11	L&S
scrutinium	an investigation	XII: m	L&S
secretius	secretly	XXXIII: 9	L&S
sexus	the sexual organs	XI: 21	L&S
*sistere	to cease	IX: 14	L&S, OLD
sonore	loudly	XXIII: 10	L&S
specialiter	particularly	VI: 3	L&S
synonymum	a synonym	XXX: m	L&S
thermae	warm baths	XXXV: 20	L&S
tibia	a leg	XXIII: m	L&S
torpor	listlessness	XIII: 1, XV: 15	L&S
transigere	to spend	I: 3	L&S
ubilibet	anywhere	X: 10	L&S
ultimo	finally	XXIII: 16	L&S

IV Words and meanings whose earliest instances have been found in Late Latin prose and/or poetry (180 - 600 A.D.):

absconsio	concealment	XXXIII: 15	Souter, La
administrare	to hand, give	XV: 8	Thes LL
aequanimiter	calmly	XXVII: 20	L&S, La
alacriter	briskly, eagerly	VIII: 5	La
a longe	from afar	I: 16, XXVII: 4	Souter, GMS
apprehendere	to understand	XXIII: 17	L&S
Archiepiscopus	archbishop	title	L&S, Souter, La
arvina	fatness	XIII: 15, 24, XXXVI: 14	L&S
beatus	saint	XXIII: 27, XXXIII: 32	Bl. c.
capitulum	chapter	passim	L&S, Souter, La
circumquaque	everywhere	XVIII: 13	L&S, Souter, Nierm.
cithara	a harp	X: 13	Bl. c., La
clericus	a priest	XXIII: 19, XXXII: 17	L&S
combustio	burning, combustion	XXVII: 3	L&S, Souter, Nierm.
comestio	the act of eating	XXXVI: 15	Souter, Nierm.

conflictus	a fight	XIII: 25, VIII: 14	L&S, Souter, Nierm.
confortare	to strengthen	XXXVI: 4	L&S, La
confusio	shame	XXI: h, 4	Bl. c., Nierm.
congyrare	to dance together	XXVII: 11	Du C., Thes LL
connatus	innate	XXII: 17	L&S
conniventia	connivance	XIX: 21	L&S
copiosus	enormous, huge	XXVII: 2	Bl. c.
Diabolus	a devil	XXXIII: 26	L&S, La
directio	a shot	IV: 9	Bl. c.
divus	saint	X: 3	Bl. c., La
exolvere	to tell, to relate	X: 14	Thes LL
expertus	skilled	XXII: 14	Thes LL
festivitas	a festival, feast	X: 4	L&S
framea	a sword	XXIII: 3	L&S, Souter, Nierm.
garritus	loquacity, prattle	XXI: 12	L&S, Souter, Nierm.
gratanter	with joy	VI: 9	L&S, Souter, Nierm.
gyrare	to turn round in a circle	XXIII: 11	L&S
haereticus	a heretic	XXXII: 12	L&S, Souter
hasta	a pole	XV: 7, XIII: 4	Souter, Bl. m., GMS
ignivomus	vomiting fire	IX: 8	L&S, Souter, Bl. c.
indiscrete	inconsiderately, indiscreetly	XII: 11	Thes LL
infallibiliter	infallibly	I: 16	L&S, La
intrudere	to clap (in prison)	XIII: 21	Souter
magnas	a great man	XXXII: 20	L&S, Nierm.
Meridionalis	southern	VIII: 11	L&S
modernus	modern	XVIII: 2	Souter, Bl. c., La
momentaneus	short	XXXIII: 26	L&S
monachalis	of or belonging to a monk	XIX: 29	Souter, La
monachus	a monk	XIX: 20	L&S, La
monasterium	a monastery	XIX: 28, m	L&S, Souter, La
mundus	this world	XXXIII: 30	L&S, Nierm.
nocumentum	harm, injury	XXXII: 18	Souter, Bl. m., La
nullibi	nowhere	XXXV: 4	Souter, La
ocularis	of the eyes	XXIII: 17	L&S
omnimode	in every way	I: 12	L&S
peramplius	even more	XXXIII: 18	Souter, Bl. m.
perplexitas	trouble	XXXIII: 7	Souter, Nierm.
perspicaciter	acutely	XII: 4	L&S, Souter

phlebotomia	blood-letting	XXXV: h, XXXVI: 12, m	L&S, Souter, La
piscatura	fishing	VIII: 11	L&S, Bl. c., La
portitor	a bearer, carrier	XXXVI: 2, m	L&S
praesumptio	presumption	XXVII: 22	L&S, La
praesumptuosus	presumptuous	XI: 20	L&S, La
prolixus	of great age	XXXII: 24	L&S
prolongare	prolong, extend	VIII: 17	L&S
provincia	a region	VIII: 11	L&S, Souter, Nierm.
pudor	private parts	XXXV: 15	Souter
quatenus	so that	XXVII: 20	L&S, La
recludere	to enclose	XXIII: 10	Souter, La
regnicola	a dweller in a kingdom	XXXV: 12	L&S, La
reintegrare	to restore	XVIII: 10	Souter, La
salvare	to save	XIII: 23	L&S
seriosus	serious	XV: 11	Souter, La
speculatio	observation	XXIII: 17	L&S
spiritus	a spirit	XXXIII: 24	L&S, La
sublimitas	high rank	XXXIII: 28	Bl. c., La
successivus	successive	XXIII: 4	Bl. c., La
superinducere	to add	XXXII: 3	L&S
tortura	torture, torment	XIII: 23	L&S, Bl. c.
tripudium	joy	VIII: 7, m	Bl. c., Souter, Nierm.
versus (prep.)	towards	VIII: 8, XI: 18	Bl. c., La, Nierm.

V Words and meanings whose earliest instances have been found in medieval prose and/or poetry (600 - 1500):

abietinus	of fir	XXVII: 2, m	Bl. m., La
absynthiacus	containing worm-wood	XXXVI: 15	LP
adducere	to adduce	I: 18	La
applausus	applause, welcome	XXVII: 8	La
arcualis	of a bow	XXIII: h, 1	Bl. m., La, LP
artificiose	artificially	IX: 11	LP
ballista	a crossbow	VI: 5, 7	Hab, La
barbitonsor	a barber	XXXVI: 14	Bl. m., Nierm., Du C.
bombarda	a gun	VI: 5, m	LP, Ba, Du C.
campanula	a little bell	XXIII: 10	Bl. c., La
carnisprivium	the beginning of Lent	XXIII: 6, 8, m	Hab, La, Nierm.
chorisare	to dance	XXIII: 21	Bl. m., Hab, Nierm.

comes	a count, an earl	VIII: 19, m	Hab, La, Nierm.
contentiosus	eager to fight	XXI: 3	La
cordatus	brave	XXI: 6	Bl. m., Hab, Nierm.
curia	the king's court	XX: 14, XXXI: 4	Bl. m., La, Nierm.
deducere	to perform	XXIII: 20	Bl. m., Du C.
deputare	to appoint	VIII: 14	La
determinare (tr.)	to finish	XXIII: 15	Bl. m., La
eques auratus	a knight	XVIII: 5	GMS, La
equester	a squire	XXI: 2, 11, m	Nierm.
favorabilis	biassed	IX: 14	LP
focalis	of the fire-place	VIII: 16	La
hastiludium	tilt	XVIII: h, XX: 15, XXII: h	Hab, La, Nierm.
instructor	an instructor	I: 9	La, Du C.
insultus	an attack	XXX: 9	Bl. m., La, Nierm.
intercutaneus	subcutaneous	XXXVI: 12	Bl. m., La
laxare	to allow	XIII: 16	Bl. m., La, Nierm.
Maialis	of May	X: h	LP
manuatum	by reaching out one's hand	XXIII: 11	Bl. m., La, Nierm.
Martialis	warlike	XXXII: 7	Hab, LP
ordo	a religious order	XIX: 20	Bl. m., La, Nierm.
Papagallus	a parrot	VI: 7	La
pomum	an apple	IV: 8	La
prior	a prior	XIX: 21	Hab, La, Nierm.
reputatio	reputation	XXXI: 3	La, Du C.
resultare	to result	XXIII: 14	Bl. m., La, Nierm.
satelles	a non-knighted member of the gentry	XX: 14, XXI: 11	Bl. m., Nierm., Du C.
scandalosus	shameful	XXXIII: 24	Bl. m., La
Schacus	chess	XII: h, 8, m	Bl. m., Hab, Du C.
simpliciter	completely	XX: 9	Bl. m., Du C.
singulare certamen	single combat	XVIII: 21	Hab, Nierm.
solatia	comfort, relief	VIII: 5	La
torneamentum	a tournament	XVIII: h, XIX: 16, XX: h	La, Nierm., Du C.
ultramarinus	from overseas	VI: 2	Hab, La
verbulum	a little word	XXXIII: 8	Bl. c., La
vigilia	the day before a fes- tival	X: 3	Bl. c., La, Nierm.
vilipensio	contempt	XXI: 5	Bl. m., La, Nierm.

VI Words and meanings whose earliest instances have been found after 1500:

Lutheranus	Lutheran	XI: 20	La, LP
proiectilis	projectile	XXIII: 19	La (1686)
sexangularis	hexagonal	XXIII: 9	Ba (1874)
tormentum	a gun	VI: 18	La

VII The rest, i.e. words and meanings that I have not been able to find in the dictionaries available:

applausibilis	laudable	XXXIII: 6
betuleus	of a birch-tree	IX: 11
campester	rural	VI: 3
distinctio	a partition	XXXV: 15
dominium	a house, an estate	XI: 24
floralis	of flowers	VIII: 19, m
immunis	unscathed	XXXIII: 11
lyricen	a harpist	XXX: 1
naclerus	a sailor	XXII: 3
perceleber	very frequent	XXXV: 24
praelibatus	flavoured	XXXVI: 3
protomimus	a court-jester	XXI: 12, XXXI: h, XXXII: 15
Pyrrhicus	of fire	XXVII: h
recensere	to tell, relate	XX: 10
sagittatorius	of archery	I: 5, VI: 4
saltare	to jump	XXIII: 21
scapharius	of a boat	XXII: h
stertens	dull, idle	X: 19
urinatorius	of a diver	XXII: 15, m
vaporarium	a sauna	VIII: 18, IX: 11
ventosa	cupping	XXXV: h, XXXVI: 11, m

Dirk SACRÉ

SOME REMARKS CONCERNING AONIO PALEARIO'S MILANESE YEARS

The last period of Aonio Paleario's life and professional career (Milan, 1555 - (1568) - 1570) is less documented than the years the humanist and reformer spent in Siena and Lucca. To a large extent, this is due to the absence of thorough research on the Milanese schools, on the one hand, and, on the other, to the lack of interest shown in the intellectual and artistic circles of Milan in the second half of the Cinquecento. We do not even know the names of Paleario's colleagues, with the exception of Ottaviano Ferrario, who taught ancient philosophy¹. No attempt has been made to draw up a list of Paleario's students — although that list would include such orators as Francesco Panigarola² and such humanists as Giovanni Mattei Toscano, the famous collector of the "Carmina illustrium poetarum Italarum"³. As for the humanist environment which encouraged Paleario in his Latin work, our knowledge of such poets as Publio Francesco Spinola⁴, to whose rented house Paleario moved in 1559 and whom he praised as a Latinist, Luigi Annibale Della Croce⁵, the secretary of the Milanese senate, who was favourably disposed towards Aonio and was held in great respect by his Latinist friends, or Primo Conte and Giovanni Tosi⁶, is inadequate. In Milan, there was in fact a large group of skilful

¹ Cf. *F. Cicereii epistolarum libri XII et orationes IV* (...), ed. P. Casati (Milan, 1782), II, pp. 222-244: "De vita et moribus Octaviani Ferrarii".

² Cf. F. Barbieri, "La Riforma dell'eloquenza sacra in Lombardia operata da S. Carlo Borromeo", *Archivio storico Lombardo*, s. IV, 15 (1911), 231-262.

³ Cf. I.M. Toscanus, *Peplus Italiae, opus in quo illustres viri... recensentur* (Paris, 1578), p. 103.

⁴ Cf. P. Paschini, "Un umanista disgraziato nel Cinquecento: Publio Francesco Spinola", *Nuovo archivio Veneto*, 37 (1919), 65-186.

⁵ Cf. D. Sacré, "De Ludovici Cruceii carmine quodam ignorato", *Latinitas*, 33 (1985), 105-116.

⁶ On Tonsus: P. Paschini, *o.c.* (n. 4), 79-85; On Comes: O.M. Paltrinieri, *Notizie intorno alla vita di Primo Del Conte* (...) (Rome, 1805).

poets Paleario might have met and to which belonged amongst others Bernardino Baldini⁷, Petreio Negri⁸, Francesco Civelli⁹, Sigismondo Foliani¹⁰, Francesco Ciceri¹¹, Girolamo Visconti¹² and Cesare Rovidio¹³. I consider it not unlikely that the few poems Paleario composed in Milan and which in large part are written after the fashion of Catullus, were inspired by similar compositions of Civelli or Foliani¹⁴.

The aim of the following notes is not to reconstruct in detail the Milanese environment in which Paleario worked and taught. I only intend to offer some materials throwing light on his colleagues and friends, and on the fate of one of his works.

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* * *

First of all, I want to draw attention to a forgotten "collega minor" of Paleario's, Francesco Ciceri da Lugano (b. 1521 - d. Milan, 1596). This humanist left an important correspondence, of which only the Latin part was largely published in the late eighteenth century by Pompeo Casati, whose two volumes were, however, little utilized by modern scholars. Ciceri was very intimate with Paleario's predecessor in the Milanese chair of eloquence, the famous Maioraggio, and maintained a lively correspondence with Oporino (Herbst), humanist and printer at Basle; amongst his correspondents one finds the names of Carlo Sigonio, Pier Vettori, Paolo Manuzio — on whom he pronounced a eulogy — and Girolamo Cardano. Many of his letters inform us about educational matters...

⁷ Cf. P. Zambelli, "Baldini, Bernardino", in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 5 (Rome, 1963), pp. 481-482.

⁸ Author of the Virgilian "Britannicarum nuptiarum libri tres" (Milan, 1559).

⁹ Cf. Ph. Argelatus, *Bibliotheca scriptorum Mediolanensium* (...), 2 (Milan, 1745), coll. 437-438; R. Ricciardi, "Civelli, Francesco", in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 26 (Rome, 1982), pp. 88-89. I also want to mention Io. M. Fagnanus (° ca. 1523), who published in 1604 his very elegant "De bello Arriano libri VI" (dealing with St. Ambrose).

¹⁰ Author of e.g. "Carminum liber unus" (Milan, 1579).

¹¹ Cf. Note 1. Some of his letters contain short poems.

¹² Author of i.a. "Saturnalia et alii lusus" (Milan, 1570).

¹³ I read some of his elegies in Milan, Bib. Ambrosiana, cod. A. 166 inf. (66 ff.); cf. O. Pasqualetti, "Il poeta latino Cesare Rovidio Umanista Milanese", in Id., *Gemina Musa: poesie e prose latine e greche* (...) (Piediripa di Macerata, 1987), pp. 421-438.

¹⁴ Foliani, *o.c.* (n. 10), has a "Carmen nuptiale" (cc. 28b - 29b) comparable with Paleario's epithalamium (cf. *Aonii Palearii Verulani Opera* ...) (Amsterdam, 1696), pp. 635-637).

Short notes concerning Rovidio, Visconti and Baldini in F. Barbieri, "La lirica latina lombarda nella seconda metà del sec. XVI", *Athenaeum*, 1 (1913), 242-263.

In any case, from 1548 on Ciceri lived in Milan; in 1561, he was appointed as a professor under Paleario; in 1571, when Paleario had been executed, he became the head professor of Latin and Greek. Although no letter from Ciceri to Paleario seems to have survived — one might suppose that Ciceri felt disappointed when not he himself, but Paleario was appointed professor after the death of Francesco's master and friend Maioraggio —, Ciceri referred to Paleario in three of his letters¹⁵.

In the first, written to Cinzio Giraldi, we read:

"Salutem ex te dixi Paleario, homini non vulgaris eruditionis, qui me audiente valde honorificos de te et Lilio gentili tuo sermones habuit et ad extremum addidit se et propter generis tui nobilitatem et morum elegantiam et bonarum rerum omnium scientiam in te amando cedere nemini"¹⁶.

This testimony is interesting, not only because it is the only place from which we can explicitly deduce that Ciceri had relations with Paleario, but also because it is the only expression of friendship between Paleario and Cinzio Giraldi. It is very likely that Cinzio, just as his relative Lilio Gregorio Giraldi and as Alberto Lollio and Pigna, belonged to that group of men of letters who via Bartolommeo Ricci entered into relations with Paleario¹⁷.

The second and the third letters are petitions for a pay increase. On December 26, 1581 Ciceri wrote to Filiodono, the president of the Milanese senate:

"...ne deteriori condicione sim tandem post quinque et triginta, quibus privatim, post unum et viginti annos, quibus publice docui, ac fuit statim Aonius Palearius, nihildum de nostra civitate bene meritus, effice. Cum Aonium Palearium dico, eum publicum explanatorem dico, cui primum collega additus novem annos docui, cuius deinde in demortui locum suffectus, iam duodecim annos erudiendae iuventuti prae fui."¹⁸ —

¹⁵ Cf. R. Ricciardi, "Ciceri, Francesco", in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 25 (Rome, 1981), pp. 383-386; D. Sacré, "Een vergeten brief aan Plantin: Cicereius over de dood van Manutius", in *Ex Officina Plantiniana* (Antwerp, 1989), pp. 107-120; cp. note 1.

¹⁶ *F. Cicereii, o.c.* (n. 1), I, pp. 56-57 (*ep.* 10, 19).

¹⁷ Cf. D. Sacré, "De Aonio Paleario Verulano et Bartholomaeo Riccio Lugensi" (Ferrara, in the press); Id., "Alberto Lollio lecteur d'Aonio Paleario" (in prep.).

¹⁸ Cf. *F. Cicereii, o.c.* (n. 1), II, pp. 170-171 (*ep.* 12, 39).

and, on the same day, to the Milanese senate:

“Nam vos rogat ut sibi detis scutatos aureos ... solos quadringentos, quam quidem mercedem statim vos ipsi in hanc urbem venienti et nihildum a vobis promerito persolvistis Aonio Paleario, cuius primum collega, deinde successor tamdiu, quamdiu dixit, et docuit et adhuc docet.”

In the same letter we read:

“Etenim novem annos Aonio Paleario a vobis additus collega, nihilo peius, illo diligentius quidem certe omnium sapientium iudicio, reliquos duodecim annos in eiusdem Palearii demortui locum a vobis iisdem suffectus docuit.”¹⁹

nihilo peius, illo *cod.*: nihilo prius illo *Casatus*
 sapientium *cod.*: sapientum *Casatus*
 docuit *om.* *Casatus*.

This sneer at Paleario's teaching might be an indication of Ciceri's frustration, which I mentioned above.

These last references to Paleario, written ten years after his execution as a heretic, demonstrate that Paleario's teaching did not go by unnoticed; this is confirmed by such school exercises as the “Thesis et Antithesis de lege agraria”, two declamations by students of his²⁰, and “Il Grammatico”, a dialogue on Paleario's educational principles, that was probably copied by one of Aonio's students and was recommended as late as 1908 to all teachers by Ciro Trabalza²¹; it is also supported by hitherto unnoticed remarks from later Milanese teachers, such as Agostino Bonacina and Lucilio Terzaghi²².

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* * *

Paleario's appointment in Milan brought him closer to Reformation Switzerland, especially to his friends Celio Secondo Curione, Bonifacius Amerbach and his son Basilius, one of Curione's students²³.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 172-173 (*ep.* 12, 40); autograph in Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, cod. 665, pp. 498-499.

²⁰ Published in Milan, 1557. The students are Ludovico da Rho and Carlo Sauli.

²¹ Milan, 1557; cf. C. Trabalza, *Storia della grammatica italiana* (Milan, 1908 = Bologna, 1963), pp. 272-274.

²² Cf. *F. Cicereii, o.c.* (n. 1), II, p. 57, who cites them from a Milanese manuscript.

²³ Cf. D. Sacré, “Parerga Paleariana”, *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 32 (1983), 197-217.

In 1555 the young Amerbach was completing his studies in Bologna; he intended to round them off with an "Iter Italicum"; therefore, his tutor, wanting to provide him with letters of recommendation, wrote to Paleario, who was glad to be able to do his friend a favour and recommended young Amerbach to his Tuscan acquaintances — Pier Vettori, Mino Celsi, Marcantonio Placidi and Francesco Micheli; a copy of his letters, to be delivered to Basilius, was sent to Mariano Sozzini in Bologna and to Alberto Lollio in Ferrara. Up to here the episode is well known from the literature on Paleario²⁴. There exists, however, a neglected collection of published letters from Basilius and Bonifacius Amerbach, which enables us to bring this episode to life again and to assign an exact date to Basilius Amerbach's meeting with Paleario²⁵.

On January 20, 1556 Bonifacius announced to his son that Curione three days earlier had found someone who would go to Milan and would recommend Basilius to Aonio, who, for his part, would write some letters recommending Basilius to Aonio's Tuscan friends²⁶. We do not know if it was Sozzini or Lollio who handed Paleario's letters over to Amerbach, but on June 9 Basilius wrote from Bologna that he had received the letters after his return from Tuscany; nevertheless, he asked Curione to thank Aonio, whom he hoped to meet in September²⁷. On July 11, Curione replied to Basilius, showed his regret for the late delivery of the letters and advised his pupil to go sight-seeing in and around Milan; he sent a letter to Aonio with his own and suggested that Basilius visit in particular his good friend, the secretary of the Milanese senate:

²⁴ Cf. e.g. G. Morpurgo, *Un umanista martire: Aonio Paleario e la Riforma teorica italiana nel secolo XVI* (Città di Castello, 1912), pp. 146-150.

²⁵ *Bonifacii et Basilii Amerbachiorum epistulae mutuae Bononia et Basilea datae*, ed. A. Teichmann (Basle, 1888).

²⁶ Cf. *Amerbachiorum epistulae*, o.c. (n. 25), nr. XIII (Bonifacius to Basilius): 'Caelius heri mihi indicavit se nudius quartus in quendam forte fortuna incidisse iam itineri accinctum, per quem te commendarit Aonio Paleario Mediolani litteras docenti, qui te quoque suis commendaturus sit.' (p. 18).

²⁷ *Ibid.*, nr. XXI: 'A D. Aonio Paleario litteras rediens accepi, in quibus amicissime me Florentiae, Senis et Lucae amicis commendat, neque dubito plurimum mihi emolumento in iis locis — nam omnes vidi — allaturas fuisse, si in tempore allatae fuissent; sed tandem post reditum mihi oblatae sunt. Quare rogo ut D. Caelium meo nomine roges quo clarissimo viro nomine meo gratias agat, quamvis idem ego a D. Caelio postulaturus sum, et litteris etiam et forsan proximo Septembri praesens etiam D. Aonio gratias acturus.' (pp. 27-28)

“... vi mando una mia a un mio grande amico gentilhuomo dotto, et honorato, et secretario nel senato, questa porterete con voi, et subito gionto in Milano cercherete la casa sua, e gli darete la mia, con le mie raccomandationi: e se non fosse a casa, date la lettera in casa, e ditele dove siete logiato: e poi lasciate far a lui.”²⁸

The way in which Curione speaks about the secretary of the senate — that is, Luigi Annibale Della Croce — is another strong indication in favour of Della Croce's sympathy for the Reformation²⁹. Be that as it may, on July 12, Bonifacius Amerbach informed his son that Curione had some more letters to Paleario and other ones in recommendation of Basilius³⁰. Finally, in a letter from August 31 we read:

“... ante dies decem et quattuor Bononia discessi, deinde visis Regio, Mutina, Parma, Placentia, Genua, Papia nudius quartus Mediolanum, hodie Comum perveni. ... D. Caelio meo nomine plurimam salutem. Cui praesens statim, ut spero, literas Aonii Palearii sum allaturus, qui me Mediolani quam amicissime et familiarissime accepit.”³¹

This implies that Amerbach, having left Bologna, arrived from Pavia in Milan on August 28, where he might have stayed until August 30. We can imagine the profound joy Aonio felt as a humanist and a reformer, when, in the company of Della Croce, he met the beloved pupil of his own very close friend Curione; some months later, he was given a similar satisfaction as a poet, when, in the company of the same Della Croce and of Arrigoni, president of the senate, he met the greatest living Latin poet of his time, Marco Girolamo Vida³². Basilius' letter indicates, moreover, how much of the correspondence between Curione and Paleario was lost; only one letter seems to have survived³³. As for Paleario and Amerbach, I do not doubt that the former felt real

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44 (in a note): ‘Mi duole che le lettere del nostro Mg. Aonio fossero tardi, che nel vero, quantunque non vi siano mancati favori, hareste per amor suo e mio trovato de li amici.’ (...) ‘Ne vi scorderete di visitar i dotti huomini, et massime Mg. Aonio nostro, per mezzo del quale conseguirete ogni vostro intento.’

²⁹ Cf. S. Caponetto, *Aonio Paleario (1503-1570) e la Riforma protestante in Toscana*, Studi Storici (Turin, 1979), pp. 120-122.

³⁰ Cf. *Amerbachiorum epistulae*, o.c. (n. 25), nr. XXIII (pp. 30-33): ‘Scribit et Caelius ad te editis litteris ad Aonium Palearium et alios commendaticis.’

³¹ *Ibid.*, nr. XXVII (p. 36). It is in this publication, and not in Morpurgo's book, as is generally assumed, that one finds the *editiones principes* of Paleario's letters in recommendation of Amerbach.

³² Cf. S. Caponetto, *Paleario*, o.c. (n. 29), pp. 122-123.

³³ Cf. *Palearii opera*, o.c. (n. 14), ep. 4,29 (pp. 551-552).

friendship for the latter, as is shown by the letter and the moving poem he sent Basilius some six years later³⁴.

* * *

In his last years in Milan, Paleario took a gloomy view of things and feared for his life. In his own language:

“Et quoniam nos qui sumus in Italia omnes premimur durissimo iugo servitutis, asseclis pontificum Romanorum exercentibus tyrannidem, ita ut paene hiscere nequeamus...”³⁵.

He was well aware of the fact that he was in danger and therefore wanted to entrust his “Actio in Pontifices Romanos”, his major religious work, to a reliable person in Basle who “temporibus perturbatis... et fortasse concitatis ob rumores concilii celebrandi”³⁶ would deliver it to the head of the reformed Church. It was Basilius Amerbach who suggested that he get in touch with a friend and colleague of his, Theodor Zwinger. Paleario did fall in with this suggestion and wrote a letter to Zwinger, which, just as the letters from and to Amerbach, was delivered by Bartolommeo Orelli, a merchant who lived in exile in Zürich and often came to Milan.

Zwinger showed much interest in the affair, was willing to help Aonio Paleario, but advised him to publish his “Actio” anonymously. To this letter of August 1, 1566 Paleario replied with his well known epistle of September 12. The latter has repeatedly been published: the former, Zwinger’s letter to Paleario, is unedited. I publish it from Ms. Fr. Gryn. II, 14, n° 9 from the Oeffentliche Bibliothek Basel, modernizing the orthography.

(f. 1^r) Aonio Paleario viro doctissimo Theodorus Zuinggerus S.

Quantum de re publica litteraria meritis sis, tum scripta tua eruditissima, tum doctorum virorum, qui e schola tua tamquam ex equo Troiano in dies prodeunt, multitudo attestatur. Quantum vero de Ecclesia mereri cogites, depositum illud tuum, quod Bartholomaeo

³⁴ Cf. D. Sacré, *Parerga*, o.c. (n. 23), 197-210.

³⁵ Paleario to Zwinger (12 IX 1566): cf. S. Caponetto, *Paleario*, o.c. (n. 29), pp. 227-229; corrigenda in D. Sacré, *Parerga*, o.c. (n. 23), 212.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

5 Orello, viro honestissimo, commisisti, satis indicabit. Egit is mecum
 tamquam cum amico diligenter et ut depositarii munus subirem tuo
 nomine rogavit. Ego igitur cum viris doctis atque piis tuique similibus
 et placere et gratum facere unice studeam, officium hoc, et quia
 honestum est, et quia tibi viro optimo et cui omnes omnia debeant
 10 gratissimum fore intelligo, numquam denegassem, si voluptati facultas
 responderet. Duo enim sunt, quantum intelligo, quae tu a depositariis
 exigis: alterum, ut commentarium in capsula duabus seris munita custo-
 dian; alterum, ut synodo oecumenicae vereque catholicae eundem
 offerant. Horum prius illud, ut facile est, a quovis praestari potest, ita
 15 in me mora non erit ulla. Posterius vero, cum prudentiam et auctori-
 tem singularem requirat, quas mihi neque possum neque volo arrogare,
 ab hoc ipso officii genere me vehementer deterret. Inter viros bonos
 bene agere nec ore simulandum, cum pectore aliter sentiam. Proinde,
 doctissime Aoni, cum in priore animi mei promptitudinem agnoscas, ut
 20 in posteriore isto mihi ignoscas vehementer rogo. Non tu is es, qui
 alterius consilio egeas; non is ego, qui tibi vel minima in re consulere
 queam. Sic tamen conicio, theologo alicui nostratium (habemus autem
 et doctos et cordatos aliquot, imprimis vero D. Sulcerum³⁷ et D.
 Coccium³⁸, utrosque sacrarum litterarum professores, indubitatae fidei
 25 viros vitaeque sanctimonia conspicuos) rectissime committi posse, prae-
 sertim cum nullum ut alienationis vel plagii periculum subsit, nisi
 depositariorum uterque mala fide agere velit, et theologi perspecta libri
 utilitate maiore cum zelo et pro sua prudentia maiore cum successu iis,
 quibus oportet, depositum tradituri videantur. Quod si tamen theologo
 30 cuiquam hanc rem tuto committi posse dubitas, depositarios institue
 alios, qui librum hunc penes se bona fide servent, alios qui eundem suo
 tempore a prioribus illis petant et synodo offerant. Hac enim ratione
 nec tergi versationi nec procrastinationi locus dabitur, et sincerius
 fortasse omnia administrabuntur. Vides, Aoni clarissime, quam impu-
 35 denter faciam, qui te docere velim; at certe tamen amice animum meum
 tibi declarare volui, ut eo uteris tuo commodo, ut alteri cuivis ad hoc
 negotium aptiori id ipsum committeres. Quae omnia te in meliorem

15 me: *sup. l. add.* 36 ut eo: *correx*i: ut eo ut *cod.*

³⁷ Simon Sulzer (1508-1585), professor of Hebrew: cf. U. Plath, *Calvin und Basel in den Jahren 1552-1556* (Zürich, 1974), chap. IX.

³⁸ Udalricus Coccius, professor of theology (1525-1585): cf. J. Chr. Adelung, *Fortsetzung und Ergänzungen zu Chr. G. Jochers Allgemeinem gelehrten-Lexico*, 2: J-C (Leipsic, 1787 = Hildesheim, 1960), col. 387.

- (f. 1^v) partem interpretaturum confido, cum/non voluntate, sed facultate destituar. Consultissimum fortassis esset typis cogitationes hasce tuas in rei
 40 publicae christianae utilitatem edere, suppresso interim auctoris nomine ad certum usque tempus. Nam sic et usufructus scriptorum tuorum ad plurimos redundaret et de fraude ut plagio aliquo securior esses. Haec pluribus fortassis, quam ut aetas tua, ut eruditio admittat. Sed mearum partium esse existimavi iam inde sub amicitiae initia (si modo dignum
 45 me iudicaris, qui in tuorum amicorum albo inscribar) libertate viro bono digna erga virum optimum et sanctissimum uti. Patiar interim lubens me a te vel admoneri, ut etiam corrigi. Vale, vir ornatissime. Basileae Cal. Augusti, M D. LXVI.
- (f. 2^v) Aonio Paleario Verulano V.C. professori Mediolani

Paleario was right in having fearful feelings and in putting away his “Actio”, which might provide damaging proof of his heresy. Seven months after his reply to Zwinger, he underwent the first interrogations in Milan; in 1568 he was summoned to Rome. During his trial, the “Actio” did not come to light, but this could not prevent him from being put to death³⁹.

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³⁹ Cf. B. Fontana, “Sommario del processo di Aonio Paleario in causa di eresia”, *Archivio della R. società Romana di storia patria*, 19 (1896), 151-175.

* I sincerely thank Prof. Dr. W. McCuaig, who corrected the most obvious errors in my English.

James A. PARENTE, Jr.

THE PAGANIZATION OF BIBLICAL TRAGEDY:
THE DRAMAS OF JACOB CORNELIUS LUMMENAEUS A
MARCA (1570-1629)*

In the first half of the seventeenth century, Neo-Latin tragedy in the Netherlands was dominated by the form and language of Senecan theater. Like their contemporaries in vernacular French and Dutch drama, Neo-Latin playwrights composed works on classical, historical and religious topics in which the doleful end of illustrious persons was portrayed and recounted in the ornately stylized discourse of Senecan tragedy. Because most of these writers shared an unreserved enthusiasm for the Roman playwright, discussions of their dramas have customarily focused on their similar adaptations of Seneca. Some critics inspired by the 1592 anthology *Terentius Christianus* of Cornelius Schonaeus have attempted further to underscore the connections between these Senecan imitators by regarding them as examples of a *Seneca Christianus* vogue¹. Such a tidy classification of these works cannot, however, obscure the fact that the *Seneca Christianus* tradition is as yet undefined, its extent unknown and its validity as a generic heading unproven. Indeed, upon closer examination, the most distinctive feature about

* An earlier version of this essay was presented at the Sixth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies, Wolfenbüttel, West Germany in August, 1985. Research for this paper was generously supported by a Fellowship for Independent Research from the National Endowment for the Humanities.

¹ The term *Seneca Christianus* was first applied to the religious tragedies of Hugo Grotius and the historical dramas of Nicolaus Vernulaeus but has more recently been used to refer in general to both German and Netherlandic playwrights who imitated Seneca's style in their Neo-Latin biblical plays. For the view of Grotius as *Seneca redivivus et christianus*, see Paul Stachel, *Seneca und das deutsche Renaissancedrama*, Palaestra XLVI (Berlin, 1907), p. 158, and more recently, Christian Gellinek, *Hugo Grotius* (Boston, 1983), p. 18. On Vernulaeus, see the article of Johannes Bolte, *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 39, p. 630. For references to other dramatists such as Lummenaeus à Marca and Jacob Balde as Christian Senecas, see Jean-Marie Valentin, "*Hercules moriens. Christus patiens. Baldes Jephtias und das Problem des christlichen Stoizismus im deutschen Theater des 17. Jahrhunderts*", *Argenis* 2 (1978), 54-55.

these Neo-Senecan tragedies is not their shared allegiance to the Roman model, but the remarkable diversity of their subjects and style. From the biblical dramas of Hugo Grotius and Rochus Honerdus to the political plays of Daniel Heinsius and Nicolaus Vernulaeus and the sexually-charged revenge tragedies of Jacob Zevecotius and Michael Hoyerus, Senecan structure, motifs and language were adapted in widely different degrees of sophistication and complexity.

Among this diverse group of playwrights, the Benedictine dramatist, Jacob Cornelius Lummenaeus à Marca (1570-1629) holds an unique place: he was not only the most prolific writer of biblical tragedy in the Netherlands before Vondel, but also the most ambitious imitator of the effusive rhetoric of Senecan drama. Indeed, his often excessive application of Senecan magniloquence to religious subjects distinguished him sharply from other biblical playwrights who attempted to maintain a decorous balance between the ethical and aesthetic aspects of their plays. Instead of christianizing Seneca by replacing the Roman's mythological plots with sacred topics, Lummenaeus in effect paganized his biblical subjects by adapting them to the fatalistic tragic universe of his ancient model.

The following discussion of Lummenaeus à Marca is intended as a contribution to the still largely unexplored problems surrounding the reception and imitation of Seneca by early seventeenth-century Latin dramatists in the Netherlands. Because of the paucity of critical studies about these playwrights, my investigation will of necessity first provide a literary-historical introduction to the main points of Lummenaeus' dramatic production and his role in the Counter-Reformation program of his native Ghent. Secondly, I shall analyze the reasons for Lummenaeus' unique imitation of Seneca and the problems which his strict adherence to the characterizations and language of his model posed for his religious plays. And finally, through a brief comparison of Lummenaeus' dramatic program with that of his contemporary Hugo Grotius, I hope to suggest where the distinctions may judiciously be drawn between christianization and paganization when speaking of a Neo-Latin playwright's imitation of a classical author.

I

Latin tragedy in the early seventeenth-century Netherlands has for the most part attracted little attention from scholars of Dutch Baroque

literature². Although the learned theater historian J.A. Worp dutifully noted the numerous plays produced by writers between 1590 and 1650, especially in the Catholic South, these Latin texts were quickly overshadowed by the works of vernacular authors such as Guiliam van Nieuwelandt and the young P.C. Hooft who were equally inspired by classical drama³. The relatively small interest among contemporary

² The only 17th-century Neo-Latin tragedians studied by Netherlandists have been Daniel Heinsius, Jacob Zevecotius and Hugo Grotius, whose plays were translated or adapted for the vernacular stage. Heinsius' *Auriacus sive Libertas Saucia* (1602) has generally aroused the greatest interest because of its national-political theme, the assassination of William of Orange; it was adapted for the Leiden Rederijker chamber by Jacob Duym and printed in 1606. For a comparative discussion of Heinsius and Duym, see the introduction to the modern edition of Duym's play: *Het moordadich stuk van Balthasar Gerards*, ed. L. F. A. Serrarens & N. C. H. Wijngaards, *Klassiek Letterkundig Pantheon* 218 (Zutphen: B. V. W. J. Thieme, n.d.). *Auriacus* has also been discussed in the context of other Latin and Dutch dramas on William of Orange in B. A. Vermaseren, "Humanistische drama's over de moord op de vader des vaderlands", *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal en Letterkunde*, 68 (1951), 31-67. On the literary attributes of *Auriacus*, see Bärbel Becker-Cantarino, *Daniel Heinsius* (Boston, 1978), pp. 113-25; on Heinsius' imitation of Seneca, see Stachel, pp. 140-46. Heinsius' later tragedy *Herodes Infanticida* (written 1611; published 1632) has also been examined not only as a literary work (Stachel, pp. 152-57; Becker-Cantarino, pp. 128-42) but as the focal point of a controversy between Heinsius and Jean-Louis Guez de Balzac about the correct way for a Christian writer to imitate the ancients; for an account of this dispute, see Gustave Cohen, *Écrivains français en Hollande dans la première moitié du XVII^e siècle* (Paris, 1920), pp. 275-91, and Zobeidah Youssef, *Polémique et littérature chez Guez de Balzac* (Paris, 1972), pp. 117-64. The 1663 translation of *Herodes* [*Treuspel. De moord der onnoozelen* (Amsterdam, 1663)] has not yet been analyzed. Dutch and Flemish scholars have discussed the translation of Jacob Zevecotius' *Rosimunda* by the Flemish (Aalst) playwright Guiliam Caudron, Sr. For an edition of this play, see A. Keersmaekers, "De vertaling door Guiliam Caudron Sr. (1622) van Jac. Zevecotius' *Rosimunda*-tragedie (1621)", *Cultureel Jaarboek voor de Provincie Oostvlaanderen* (1955), 49-104. Vondel's ties to Grotius have been examined in several contexts: for an analysis of his translation of Grotius' *Sophompaneas*, see W. A. P. Smit, *Van Pascha tot Noah*, vol. 1 (Zwolle, 1956), pp. 154-73. The Neo-Latin antecedents of *Joseph in Dothan* have also been investigated: for its relationship to Jacob Libenus' *Joseph Venditus* (1634; 1639), see L. van den Boogerd, *Het Jezuïetendrama in de Nederlanden* (Groningen, 1961), pp. 147-50; for its connections to Grotius' *Christus Patiens* (1608), see J. A. Parente, Jr., *Religious Drama and the Humanist Tradition. Christian Theater in Germany and the Netherlands 1500-1680* (Leiden, 1987), pp. 116-121.

³ For a brief overview of Neo-Latin playwrights in the Netherlands, see J. A. Worp, *Geschiedenis van het drama en van het tooneel in Nederland*, vol. 1 (Groningen, 1904), pp. 193-329; for a more comprehensive chronological listing of Netherlandic Neo-Latin theater, see Jozef IJsewijn, "Annales theatri Belgo-Latini. Inventaris van het Latijns toneel uit de Nederlanden", in *Liber amicorum Prof. Dr. G. Degroote*, ed. J. Veremans (Brussels, 1980), pp. 41-55, and additions by the same, "Theatrum Belgo-Latinum: Het Neolatijnse Toneel in de Nederlanden", *Academiae Analecta. Mededelingen Kon. Academie W. L. S. K. van België* 43 (1981), nr. 1, pp. 71-114. In recent years, several editions and/or translations of Netherlandic Neo-Latin tragedies (Zevecotius, Grotius) have appeared, but as IJsewijn has noted (p. 53-54) much more philological and interpretive work still

scholars for Neo-Latin tragedy in the Netherlands stands in sharp contrast to the critical acclaim it was accorded in the early seventeenth century. Even allowing for the hyperbolic panegyrics with which the late humanists usually complemented each other, there is little doubt that the writers felt that their tragedies inaugurated a new era in Latin drama. The humanist friends of Hugo Grotius, Daniel Heinsius and Lummenaeus à Marca hailed each author as the equal of Sophocles, Euripides and Seneca. Such ephemeral praise did not, however, preserve all three men from oblivion. Unlike Grotius and Heinsius who were to secure themselves lasting reputations in law and philology, Lummenaeus à Marca's renown rested solely on his varied dramatic, oratorical and historical works. From the publication of his first play, *Jephte* in 1608 until 1628 when the *Musae Lacrymantes*, an amended edition of seven of his tragedies appeared, Lummenaeus was proclaimed a poetic genius by humanists in Flanders and Brabant. His plays even impressed many Italian ecclesiastical dignitaries such as the powerful archbishop of Milan, Cardinal Federico Borromeo, and Cardinal Maffeo Barberini, the future Pope Urban VIII, whose friendship he cultivated during his two Italian sojourns in 1613-15 and 1622-28. To his Northern supporters, Lummenaeus was believed to have effected an artistic *translatio imperii* from Rome to Ghent by his superior imitation of Seneca. His close friend, Maxaemilianus Vrientius, the town secretary of Ghent, aptly summarized contemporary opinion on Lummenaeus in a liminary epigram which prefaced the 1610 tragedy *Carcer Babylonius*:

Cedite Romanae, Graiorum cedite Scenae,
Nescio quid maius Marca Tragaedus hiat⁴.

Others praised Lummenaeus' erudition and the moral content of the plays, but all of his admirers especially appreciated his magniloquent style⁵. Despite the enthusiasm with which Lummenaeus' contemporaries

needs to be done. For a bibliography of recent editions, see IJsewijn, pp. 54-55; to this list should be added J. Merlevede, "Het *Iephte*-drama van J. C. Lummenaeus à Marca. Synoptische uitgave en vergelijking met de *Iephtes* van G. Buchanan", unpubl. lic. diss. Kath. Univ. Leuven 1986. In the last few years, Grotius' plays have attracted the greatest literary interest: Fidel Rädle, "Hugo Grotius als Dramatiker", in *The World of Hugo Grotius 1583-1645. Proceedings of the International Colloquium... Rotterdam 6-9 April 1983*, ed. R. Feenstra (Amsterdam/Maarssen, 1984), pp. 117-31; A. C. Eyffinger, "Cui bono, si Agamemnon diserte loquitur? Achtergronden en doelstellingen van de Neolatijnse tragedie", *Lampas* 18 (1985), 363-83.

⁴ Jacob Cornelius Lummenaeus à Marca, *Carcer Babylonius. Tragoedia Sacra* (Gandavi, ex officina Gualteri Manilii, 1610), f. Aiiiiv.

⁵ Lummenaeus' manneristic, erudite style was first noted by the Ghent humanist

greeted his dramatic works, they were almost immediately forgotten. The eighteenth-century compilers of the standard *Bibliothèque Générale* of Benedictine writers no longer remembered Lummenaeus as a dramatist but as an orator distinguished by “la beauté de son génie” and his elegant style⁶. Nevertheless, as will be seen, Lummenaeus’ plays deserve critical attention because of his creation of a unique type of Neo-Latin biblical tragedy in which ethical content was subordinated to aesthetic concerns.

Jacob Cornelius Lummenaeus à Marca was born in Ghent in 1570 where he belonged to one of the town’s noble families⁷. After completing his education in his native city, he first joined the Capuchins and later the Benedictines at whose abbey of St. Peter (the so-called abbey on Mount Blandinius) he resided. Like most Benedictines, Lummenaeus was granted the freedom to travel and live elsewhere for longer periods, but the abbots of St. Peter in the early seventeenth century, Cornelius Columbanus Vranx and his administratively able assistant, Joachim Arsenius Schayck, kept a tight rein on peregrine monks such as Lummenaeus by forcing them to live on a subminimal

David Lindanus in his liminary poem to *Jephte* (1608) where the playwright was likened to the difficult Alexandrian tragedian Lycophron; the Ghent historian Antonius Sanderus likewise praised Lummenaeus for his learned speech in another liminary poem in the same edition: J. C. Lummenaeus à Marca, *Jephte. Tragoedia Sacra* (Antverpiae, apud Hieronymum Verdussen, 1608), pp. 10; 12. As Benedictus Sossagus remarked in a liminary letter to the second edition of *Carcer Babylonius* (1613), it was Lummenaeus’ rhetorical skill that recalled the literary glory of the ancients: “tanta in ea [tragoedia] verborum, tanta sententiarum maiestas, ut a priscis illis Heroibus Euripide, Sophocle, Elysiis a vallibus in hanc lucem emissa videatur”, in J. C. Lummenaeus à Marca, *Opera omnia* (Lovanii, typis Phil. Dormalii, 1613), p. 55.

⁶ *Bibliothèque générale des écrivains de l'ordre de Saint Benoît*, ed. Jean François, vol. 2 (Bouillon, 1777), p. 85. Lummenaeus is not mentioned in the standard history of the Benedictine order by Philbert Schmitz even though other Benedictine dramatists (e.g., Petrus Crullus; Simon Rettenpacher) are discussed there. For a brief overview of the literary activities of the Benedictines, see Dom Philbert Schmitz, *Histoire de l'ordre de Saint Benoît*, vol. 5 (Maredsous, 1949), pp. 300-34. The history of late Renaissance Benedictine drama remains a desideratum.

⁷ The main biographical source for Lummenaeus is the article of Émile Varenbergh in the *Biographie Nationale de Belgique*, vol. 12, col. 567-72. Varenbergh provides additional information on Lummenaeus’ peregrinations and excerpts from the correspondence in his “Lummenaeus à Marca”, *Messenger des sciences historiques*, 46 (1878), pp. 7-44; 134-56. The most comprehensive biography of Lummenaeus is contained in *Bibliotheca Belgica*, ed. Marie-Thérèse Lenger, vol. 3 (Brussels, 1964), pp. 1152-54; this article is heavily indebted to Varenbergh, but it provides useful references to the earlier and often less reliable biographical handbooks of Ant. Sanderus, Valerius Andreas, Fr. Sweertius and Jean Noël Paquot.

stipend⁸. Such restrictions did not impair the *Wanderlust* of Lummenaeus, and at the invitation of Cardinal Federico Borromeo, he travelled to Milan and Rome in 1613. The stringent economic measures of the abbot Schayck impoverished Lummenaeus by 1615; only through the intercession of Cardinal Barberini was Schayck persuaded to send Lummenaeus funds for his return to Ghent. Similar financial problems plagued Lummenaeus during his second longer Italian sojourn from 1622-28: in an extensive correspondence which has been preserved⁹, the poet waged a losing battle against Schayck for more support that only ended through the intervention of the papal nuncio in Brussels on Lummenaeus' behalf. Letters from other correspondents to Lummenaeus, such as the prudent counsel of the Ghent humanist Antonius Sanderus in 1620¹⁰, reveal that Lummenaeus' straitened circumstances were caused both by his careless expenditures as well as by rumors circulated to Schayck that Lummenaeus was leading a debauched life. Probably both Lummenaeus and the Benedictines were at fault. The bureaucratic squabble between the St. Peter Benedictines and their Italian brethren about the responsibilities of abbeys toward foreign visitors — the monks at Monte Cassino refused to harbor Lummenaeus for several months — coupled with Lummenaeus' inability to control the purse strings easily reduced him to ruin. With the reluctant assistance of Schayck in early 1628, Lummenaeus, who, like Erasmus, protested the rigors of a cloistered existence for reasons of health, returned from Italy to Douai. In 1629 he succumbed there at the abbey of the English Benedictines to an illness precipitated by his agitated wanderings.

During the last twenty years of his life from ca. 1608-1628, Lummenaeus was a prolific writer of orations and dramas; he also produced a brief history of the dukes of Burgundy and a *Diarium Sanctorum* compiled from the Roman Martyrology¹¹. He was much desired by his contemporaries as a funeral orator as well as a preacher in churches and abbeys — Jesuit, Dominican and Benedictine — throughout Flan-

⁸ Schayck was especially notorious for his parsimony: Albert Pasture, *La Restauration religieuse aux Pays-Bas catholiques sous les archiducs Albert et Isabelle (1596-1633)* (Louvain, 1925), pp. 281-82.

⁹ Varenbergh, *Messenger* (1878), pp. 23-44.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

¹¹ The best bibliographical information on Lummenaeus' published and unpublished works is contained in *Bibliotheca Belgica*, vol. 3, pp. 1151-66.

ders, Brabant, Hainaut and Artois. In Italy, where several of his homilies were published in the 1620s at Rome and Venice, Lummenaeus cultivated the patronage of important cardinals, and in the Netherlands, he maintained close contact through liminary poems and letters to humanists such as Hugo Grotius, Erycius Puteanus, Nicolaus Vernulaeus and the Augustinian dramatist Jacob Zevecotius¹². Because of his financial difficulties, the indigent monk did not shrink from dedicating many of the same dramas and homilies to different recipients in order to raise funds. But in his effort to give each new patron a slightly altered work, Lummenaeus continually revised his texts and thereby developed a refined aesthetic elegance which never ceased to astonish his contemporaries.

Lummenaeus' reputation as an accomplished playwright is based on his eight tragedies which appeared between 1608 and 1625¹³. Of his first three dramas, two were published separately, *Jephthe* (1608) and *Carcer Babylonius* (1610) on Nebuchadnezzar's conquest of Jerusalem. These two works reappeared in slightly altered form in the 1613 edition of Lummenaeus' *Opera omnia* along with another tragedy, *Dives Epulo* on Luke's parable of the rich man and Lazarus (Luke 16:19-31). The last five tragedies were likewise first published separately: *Bustum Sodomae* (1615) on the destruction of Sodom (Genesis 19:1-38); *Amnon* (1617) on the rape of King David's daughter Tamar by her brother Amnon (2 Sam 13); *Saul* (1621) on that king's mad pursuit of David and his defeat by the Philistines; *Abimelechus* (1622) on the title hero's futile attempt to rule Israel after slaughtering his brothers (Judges 9); and Lummenaeus' most daring play, *Sampson* (1623/25) on that hero's fateful encounter with Delilah (Judges 16). All of the tragedies, except for *Dives Epulo*, were printed again in the 1628 collection, *Musae Lacrymantes*, and three of them, *Jephthe*, *Bustum Sodomae* and *Carcer Babylonius* (now rechristened *Sedechias*) were considerably abridged.

¹² See, e.g., the 1612 letter of Erycius Puteanus to Lummenaeus in which the former expressed his sympathy for the theft of some of Lummenaeus' *Lessus sacri*: in Lummenaeus à Marca, *Opera omnia*, pp. 187-89. Lummenaeus offered liminary poems to his fellow dramatists Vernulaeus and Zevecotius: N. Vernulaeus, *Divus Eustachius sive Fidei et Patientiae Triumphus* (Lovanii, typis Philippi Dormalii, 1612), p. 11; Jacob Zevecotius, *Rosimunda. Tragoedia* (Gandavi, apud Iudocum Doods, 1621), f. A3^r.

¹³ See note 11. Information is also provided in the *Bibliotheca Belgica* concerning the quantitative differences between various editions of Lummenaeus' plays. Recent scholarship has uncovered still further manuscripts of Lummenaeus' work; for a synoptic edition of the ms. and printed versions of *Jephthe* [printed 1608 (Antwerp); 1613 (Louvain); 1624 (Rome); 1628 (Douai)], see the unpublished licentiate thesis of J. Merlevede (note 3).

There are references among Lummeneaus' contemporaries, Antonius Sanderus and the abbot Andreas Gryllus of Monte Cassino to a lost drama on Absalom from 1624 — thought by some to have been performed by the Ghent Jesuits in 1625 though there is no firm evidence for this assumption — but it was never printed¹⁴. In contrast to the earlier biblical dramas of the schools, the excessive length of Lummenaeus' choruses as well as the preciousness of a tragic idiom characterized by an overabundance of similes and rarely encountered nouns, implies that the author did not intend his tragedies so much for performance as for private reading. References to a few public presentations exist, *Jephte* (ca. 1608) in Ghent, *Bustum Sodomae* (ca. 1618), *Amnon* (1617) and *Sampson* (ca. 1621) at Rome, but without any further information about the specific occasion of the performance — be it school, court, or private house — the actors or the audience¹⁵.

¹⁴ Antonius Sanderus, *De Gandavensibus eruditionis fama claris* (Antverpiae, apud Gulielmum à Tongris, 1624), p. 60; Gryllus mentions his desire to read the Absalom drama in a letter to Lummenaeus, dated 28 June 1622, in which he praised the moral superiority of the playwright's biblical dramas to the comedies of Plautus and Terence. Gryllus' letter is printed as a testimonial in Lummenaeus à Marca, *Musae Lacrymantes sive Pleias Tragica, id est septem tragoediae sacrae* (Duaci, ex typographia Ioannis de Fampoux, 1628), p. 64. The perioche of the Absalom tragedy performed by the Ghent Jesuits in 1625 does not contain the author's name — a surprising omission if Lummenaeus, a native of Ghent, had composed the work. Despite the difficulty of reconstructing a play from the plot summary on the program sheet, the Jesuit *Absalom* seems to differ from Lummenaeus' customary practice of constructing a five-act drama, each of whose acts consists chiefly of a single monologue; the Jesuit work contains only 3 acts and apparently more extensive dialogue. It is, of course, entirely possible that a Jesuit writer could have altered a manuscript version of an Absalom play which Lummenaeus may have showed him and then passed the drama off as his own. The perioche is preserved in the Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent [signature: G6144²]: *Tragoedia Absalon exhibenda a poeseos studiosis Collegii S. J. Gandavi Martii 1625* (Gandavi, typis Ioannis Kerkhovii, 1625). The perioche of another Jesuit Absalom play from Ghent, which was performed in 1684, differs markedly from the 1625 version in the disposition of the dramatic events; it is likewise unlikely that Lummenaeus had any effect on this work. Cf. *Bibliotheca Belgica*, vol. 3, pp. 1161-62. Sanderus (ibid.) also attributes a drama on the Byzantine emperor Anastasius to Lummenaeus, but this topic, which was especially popular with Jesuit dramatists, contrasts sharply with Lummenaeus' exclusively biblical repertoire. Cf. J. N. Paquot, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire littéraire des dix-sept provinces...*, vol. 13 (Louvain, 1768), pp. 195-200; *Bibliotheca Belgica*, vol. 3, p. 1165.

¹⁵ Justus Rycquius referred to a successful performance of *Jephte* in two different letters of 1610 [*Epistolae selectae* (Louvain, 1615), pp. 113; 160]. Lummenaeus hinted at a performance of *Bustum Sodomae* in his dedicatory letter to Antonius de Winghe, the abbot of Liessies (1 December 1614): "*Bustum Sodomae, quod in hoc theatro scenis exagito*", without any further reference to the location of the "theatrum": Lummenaeus à Marca, *Bustum Sodomae. Tragoedia sacra* (Gandavi, apud Cornelium Marium, 1615), f. A2. Lummenaeus likewise remarked in the dedicatory letter to *Amnon* (14 April 1617)

Although Lummenaeus' choice of a biblical topic suggests a possible relationship to earlier Neo-Latin religious theater in the Netherlands, he was in fact the first to introduce many of these subjects to the tragic stage of his homeland. In composing his dramas, however, Lummenaeus did not rely solely on his own abilities but derived inspiration from vernacular and Latin tragedies produced elsewhere. Like most contemporary writers, Lummenaeus concealed his literary debts but at least three works, *Carcer Babylonius*, *Amnon*, and *Saul* seemed to have been chiefly inspired by sixteenth-century French theater¹⁶. The characterization of the prophet Jeremiah, who laments the impending punishment of the Jews in *Carcer Babylonius*, is most likely modeled on Robert Garnier's presentation of the same figure in *Les Juifves* (1583); Lummenaeus may have also derived the debate between Nebuchadnezzar and his general about the appropriate punishment for the rebellious Jews from scenes in Garnier's play¹⁷. For the *Amnon*, Lummenaeus, perhaps initially inspired by Rochus Honerdus' publication in Leiden of *Thamara* (1611), a Latin tragedy, may have used Nicolas Chrétien's *Tragédie d'Amnon et Thamar* (Rouen 1608) for his own dramatic treatment of that subject. Like Honerdus and Chrétien, Lummenaeus structured his work around the four figures of Amnon, Tamar, her avenger Absalom, and King David so as to elaborate four states of Senecan *furor*: lust, anger, revenge and grief¹⁸. Finally, Lummenaeus

about his tragedy: "luculentum argumentum est et quod mereatur plaustis in scenam vehi" and then describes the lugubrious reaction which the play evoked in the audience: Lummenaeus à Marca, *Amnon. Tragoedia sacra* (Gandavi, apud Cornelium Marium, 1617), f. A2. Finally, in a liminary letter to Lummenaeus from Cardinal Borghese (15 January 1622), the cardinal mentions his delight with *Sampson*, which had recently been performed at Rome ("Tragoediam tuam sacram, è plaustro tragico ad Romanas nunc prodeuntem scenas..."): Lummenaeus à Marca, *Sampson. Tragoedia sacra* (Lovanii, typis Henrici Hastenii, 1625), f. A3.

¹⁶ Several Netherlandic Dutch-language playwrights derived their plots and characterizations from late Renaissance French dramatists, especially Robert Garnier. See P. H. Moerkerken, "Invloed van Garnier op enkele onzer dramatisen in het begin der 17^e eeuw", *Noord en Zuid*, 17 (1894), 194-208; J. A. Worp, "Invloed van het Fransche drama op het onze in het begin der 17^{de} eeuw", *Noord en Zuid*, 18 (1895), 193-215. Neither of these two studies discusses the connections between Netherlandic Neo-Latin and French theater.

¹⁷ For the characterization of Jeremiah, cf. *Les Juifves*, act I and *Carcer Babylonius*, act III; for the debate between Nebuchadnezzar and his general, cf. *Les Juifves*, act II, scene 1 and *Carcer Babylonius*, act IV.

¹⁸ Lummenaeus devotes an act each (I-IV) to Amnon, Tamar, Absalom and David; in the final act (V), David continues his lamentations after learning of Amnon's murder by Absalom. For a discussion of Chrétien's play, see J. S. Street, *French Sacred Drama from Bèze to Corneille* (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 124-25. Honerdus may also have been indebted

probably adapted the characterization of Saul for his 1621 drama from Jean de La Taille's 1572 tragedy *Saül le furieux*. As in the French play, Lummenaeus paradoxically ascribed the reasons for Saul's demise to both his failings as a monarch and God's irreversible ordinance that he should perish¹⁹. Besides French drama, Lummenaeus also turned to Neo-Latin Renaissance tragedy of the sixteenth century for his interpretation of the problematic biblical figure of Jephthah. Few Jephthah dramas were written in the late Renaissance which did not betray their debt to George Buchanan's *Jephtes sive Votum* (written ca. 1542-43), and Lummenaeus was no exception²⁰. His characterization of Jephthah's wife as a weak-willed woman whose happiness depended on the safety of both her husband and daughter in the 1608 and 1613 version was clearly patterned after the wife Storax in Buchanan's play: additionally, Lummenaeus shared Buchanan's view that Jephthah's tragedy arose from his conceited misperception of his obligation to fulfill his rash oath and execute his own daughter²¹. Indeed, the close connection between his own work and Buchanan's tragedy may have forced Lummenaeus to dispense with the first two acts of his *Jephte* — where these ties were especially apparent — in his 1628 reworking of this subject so that his own talents might be more clearly perceived.

After such a damning account of Lummenaeus' indebtedness to so

to Chrétien for his characterization of Amnon and Tamar despite his claims about the originality of his topic: "Placuit in exercitium ingenii haec materia, neque a cothurno abhorreere visa est. Itaque novam rem orsus, pro captu meo ad antiquum modum, lucubratiunculam hanc elimavi". Rochus Honerdus, *Thamara. Tragoedia* (Lugduni Bavorum ex officina Joannis Patii, 1611), sig. ***. Neither Honerdus nor Lummenaeus, however, demonstrated much interest in the political debates in Chrétien's work about the legitimacy of Absalom's rebellion against King David.

¹⁹ Lummenaeus also structured the last act of his *Saul* after La Taille: both works end with the announcement of Saul's death by the Amalekite soldier who falsely claims to have killed the king, David's anger at this false report, the slaying of the Amalekite and David's lament for Jonathan and Saul (2 Sam 1). For an analysis of La Taille's work, see the still reliable Raymond Lebègue, *La Tragédie religieuse en France. Les Débuts (1514-1575)* (Paris, 1929), pp. 397-424.

²⁰ Lummenaeus acknowledged his debt to Buchanan in the dedicatory letter to the 1608 edition of his play: "argumentum solidum et tragicum, et cui Scoti vatis sublime illud ingenium aliquando desudavit": *Jephte* (1608), p. 3. For a comparative study of Buchanan and Lummenaeus, see the thesis of Merlevede (note 3). In his encyclopedic study of Jephthah tragedies, W. Sypherd discusses Lummenaeus, but does not explore his debt to Buchanan: W. O. Sypherd, *Jephthah and his Daughter* (Newark, Delaware, 1948), pp. 44-46.

²¹ For an analysis of Jephthah's tragic rashness, see J. H. McGregor, "The Sense of Tragedy in George Buchanan's *Jephtes*", *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 31 (1982), 120-140, esp. 135-40.

many authors, one may well wonder where his uniqueness as a dramatic poet may lie. When Lummenaeus' plays are compared to the works of his predecessors, however, the main point of his tragedies becomes immediately apparent. Consider, for example, the differences between Garnier's and Lummenaeus' presentation of the fall of Jerusalem. Both authors were avid admirers of the declamatory style of Senecan tragedy, and both were drawn to the topic for its utility in exemplifying God's punishment of sin. As Garnier stated in the dedicatory preface to his patron Monseigneur de Joyeuse, Nebuchadnezzar's conquest of Jerusalem and the punishment of the rebellious Jewish king, Sedechias, provided an excellent and pleasing example of divine justice:

Or vous ay-je icy représenté les souspirables calamitez d'un peuple qui a comme nous abandonné son Dieu. C'est un sujet délectable, et de bonne et sainte édification. Vous y voyez le chastiment d'un prince issu de l'ancienne race de David, pour son infidélité et rébellion contre son supérieur. Et voyez aussi l'horrible cruauté d'un roy barbare vers celuy qui battu de la fortune, est tombé en ses mains par un sévère jugement de Dieu²².

But Garnier presented the dramatic events in a much more expansive way than he outlined here. He amplified the haughtiness of the Assyrian conquerer by portraying his imperviousness to the pleas of the vanquished for clemency and the cruel revocation of his promise to spare Sedechias. The reactions of Sedechias' mother, Amital, and the chorus of captive Jewish women to their misfortune, their sudden emotional shifts of mood from sorrow and anger to joy and relief and then finally to unceasing grief upon hearing of the blinding of Sedechias and the execution of his sons, provided a literary framework to an essentially unchanging and unchangeable situation. Garnier further buttressed the dramatic tension inherent in the Jews' uncertainty about their fate by presenting several debates between them and their captors, as well as the captors themselves, about the efficacy of mercy and the legitimacy of revolution²³.

²² R. Garnier, *Les Juifves* in his *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Lucien Pinvert, vol. 2 (Paris, 1923), p. 216. All page citations refer to this edition.

²³ See Act II: the debates between Nabuchodonosor and his general Nabuzardan; and between "La Royne" (Nabuchodonosor's queen), Amital and the chorus; Act III: debates between Nabuchodonosor and "La Royne"; and between Amital, "Les Roynes" (wives of Sédécie) and Nabuchodonosor; Act IV: the encounter between Nabuchodonosor and Sédécie.

Lummenaeus shared Garnier's interest in the punishment of the Jews, but he did not attempt to represent the static plot in a dramatically effective way. He dispensed with extensive explorations of Nebuchadnezzar's tyranny and lengthy political arguments as well as with the central figure of Amital and offered a series of scenes describing and eventually portraying the horrible but just end awaiting the Jewish rebels. As in Garnier, Lummenaeus retained the prophet Jeremiah as a harbinger of the doom awaiting Jerusalem (Act III as opposed to Garnier's Act I), but then devoted the remaining acts to Nebuchadnezzar's outbursts of anger about the rebellion, the laments of the faithless Jews, and the punishment of Sedechias. Where Garnier had used the plot to investigate political and moral issues and heighten the audience's compassion for the Jews' plight, Lummenaeus focused almost exclusively on the punishment itself in an effort to terrorize his audience into recognizing the danger of revolution. In contrast to Garnier, Lummenaeus attempted to impel his viewers through rhetorical tirades about divine retribution to amend their lives or be damned²⁴.

Lummenaeus' preference for the emotional reactions of his characters, indeed for the emotions themselves, rather than for the intellectual problems implicit in the plots was evidenced in his imitation of other recent biblical dramatists. The later acts (III-IV) of his *Jephte* are devoted for the most part to the preparations of Jephthah's daughter for the impending sacrifice and the laments of her companions rather than Buchanan's exploration of Jephthah's religious crisis about the legitimacy of the sacrifice²⁵. Similarly, in the *Amnon*, Lummenaeus reduced the central role of King David in Honerdus' *Thamara* from an accomplice in the tragedy — the punishment of Amnon was God's punishment of David for his earlier libidinous escapades — to an aggrieved father whose lamentations were intended to remind the audience of the fearful consequences of lust²⁶.

Lummenaeus' exclusive concern with punishment and the emotional manipulation of the audience for the sake of moral reform clearly

²⁴ The chorus of Jews in *Carcer Babylonius*, along with the "propheta" (Jeremiah), continually remind the audience in the last three acts that the trouble which now afflicts them was sent from God as punishment for their sins, especially their embrace of the heathen cult of Astarte.

²⁵ See the scenes between Jephthes and Symmachus (lines 618-783), and Jephthes and the "Sacerdos" (lines 842-1055), cited after the *Jephthes* edition in *George Buchanan's Tragedies*, ed. P. Sharratt & P. G. Walsh (Edinburgh, 1983).

²⁶ Cf. *Amnon*, acts IV and V, and Honerdus, *Thamara*, acts II, III, V.

demonstrated his familiarity with the Renaissance view that tragedy should represent the sins man must avoid to gain eternal life²⁷. More importantly, this avowed ethical purpose betrayed Lummenaeus' active participation in the efforts of the Catholics in early 17th-century Ghent to reassert their authority in a city long plagued by heresy²⁸. During Lummenaeus' early years from 1577 until 1584, Ghent had been governed by Calvinist officials, but with Alessandro Farnese's reconquest of Flanders in the spring of 1584, the Protestant leaders surrendered or fled; those who refused to convert to Catholicism within two years were forced into exile. To help the Calvinists and Anabaptists recognize the light of Rome and, more importantly, to halt the vast exodus of merchant-class Protestants to the North, an extensive campaign of reeducation and reconversion was organized by the Jesuits and the Capuchins, to whom Lummenaeus initially belonged. The Jesuits founded their college in Ghent in 1592 and, as was their practice elsewhere, they used the theater to carry out their Counter-Reformation campaign²⁹; the Augustinians established a rival school in 1609 and eventually a rival theater³⁰ and the Benedictines, whom Lummenaeus joined after the Capuchins, consolidated their membership by reinforcing strict monastic discipline³¹. As a devout Catholic amidst this Counter-Reformation fervor, it is not surprising that Lummenaeus maintained close ties to all these orders, especially with the Jesuits whom his brother had entered, and that he composed his biblical dramas to warn against the religious and social abuses which had earlier led many Catholics into the Protestant camp.

²⁷ In the 16th and 17th centuries, Latin dramatists still adhered for the most part to the ethical dictum ascribed to the post-classical grammarian Aelius Donatus that "in Tragoedia, fugienda vita; in Comoedia, capessenda exprimitur". Aelius Donatus, *Commentum Terenti*, ed. Paulus Wessner, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1902 = Stuttgart, 1962), p. 22. See also Parente, pp. 18-20.

²⁸ For a brief overview of Ghent history during the late 16th and early 17th century, see Victor Fris, *Histoire de Gand* (Brussels, 1913), pp. 218-48.

²⁹ For an account of the complex negotiations between the Jesuits and the Ghent city council from 1584-92 concerning the establishment of the Jesuit college, see Alfred Poncelet, *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus dans les anciens Pays-Bas*, Première Partie, Mémoires de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, Lettres: 2. Série, 21 (Brussels, 1926), pp. 372-79. On Jesuit theater in Ghent, see Prosper Claeys, *Histoire du théâtre à Gand*, vol. 1 (Ghent, 1892), pp. 20-32; Van den Boogerd, pp. 238-41.

³⁰ Claeys, pp. 32-40.

³¹ The Benedictine abbey of St. Peter, to which Lummenaeus belonged, recovered somewhat from financial problems in the early 17th century under the abbot Cornelius Columbanus Vranx (1597-1615) and his coadjutor Joachim Arsenius Schayck, but despite these improvements, monastic discipline remained a constant problem. Pasture, p. 281.

A brief glance at Lummenaeus' comments in his dedicatory prefaces and at his choice of topics can serve to demonstrate which weaknesses the Counter-Reformation hoped to eliminate. Of immediate importance to the Benedictines, especially those of the impoverished abbey of St. Peter, was the need for funds by which the community could support its present members and attract new vocations³². Lummenaeus' first tragedy, *Dives Epulo*, with its terrifying damnation of the stingy rich man in Jesus' parable and the glorification of the beggar Lazarus, was clearly intended to attract financial support for the abbey and to console the monks that their dire penury would one day be rewarded³³. A more critical problem for the clergy was the rampant immorality among its members, and Lummenaeus went to great lengths to condemn sexual incontinence in *Bustum Sodomae*, *Amnon*, and *Sampson*. Indeed, Lummenaeus' concern with feminine deceit was so pronounced that he used eroticism as a pedagogical device in his *Sampson* by first exciting his reader through an unusually frank seduction scene between the hero and Delilah only to have such pleasures condemned by the blinded Samson³⁴. Lummenaeus was also troubled by the rationale which the Protestants had used to justify their break with Rome and the political consequences which their heresy had had on the Spanish Netherlands³⁵. To the fervent Catholic Lummenaeus, Jephthah's justification

³² Ibid. The abbey of St. Peter was the only Benedictine institution with economic problems in the early 1600s in the Low Countries. Ghent itself still suffered from the effects of the civil war and especially from the exodus of Protestant merchants in the late 1580s and 1590s; only the brief respite offered by the Twelve Years Truce (1609-1621) finally enabled the city to recover some of its former financial stability. See also Fris, pp. 233-45.

³³ It is interesting to note that Lummenaeus elected to publish *Dives Epulo* only once, in 1613, possibly because of the work's atypicality as a neo-classical Senecan tragedy. With his reliance here on several allegorical figures (Voluptas, Superbia, Desperatio, Poenitentia, Mors), Lummenaeus aligned himself with earlier Rederijker theater — generally banned by the Catholic regime in Ghent in the early 1600s — and the 16th-century Latin drama of Georgius Macropedius (*Hecastus*) and Levinus Brechtus (*Euriplus*), who were equally inspired by Rederijker practices.

³⁴ The dangers of luxurious living, apparent already in the rich man's fate in *Dives Epulo*, were equally self-evident in the destruction of Sodom, the death of the love-sick Amnon and the blinding of Samson. Lummenaeus uses the choruses in these last three plays to underscore the tragedies' moral lessons, e.g., *Bustum Sodomae* (1615), pp. 27-28 (Act III chorus); *Amnon* (1617), p. 12 (Act I chorus); *Sampson* (1625), pp. 11-12 (Act I chorus); Act III (passim).

³⁵ From 1598 until 1630, Ghent was possessed by an excessive religious fervor, which, at the instigation of the Benedictines and other religious orders, frequently resulted in several public executions of citizens accused of apostasy, heresy, sorcery or demonic possession. Fris, p. 245.

of his unnatural sacrifice of his daughter recalled the recent fanaticism of the Ghent Calvinists (1577-84) by which they had established themselves as the sole interpreters of God's will. Lummenaeus' criticisms were, however, more overt in *Carcer Babylonius*, *Saul*, and *Abimelechus* where he dealt with the timely problem of political revolution and the nature of kingship. The rebellious Jews who had turned away from God and embraced Astarte in *Carcer Babylonius* were doubtless intended as dramatic parallels to the Protestants who had broken with both Rome and, as the Jews had done with Nebuchadnezzar, their rightful ruler in Spain³⁶. Lummenaeus' 1610 dedication of the *Carcer Babylonius* to the Spanish governor Archduke Albert was thus done not merely to flatter but to confirm the prince's authority. The horror of civil war was further reflected in the tragedy of the ambitious Abimelech, a worshipper of Baal, who had eliminated the legitimate heirs to his father's judgeship through the mass murder of his 69 half-brothers³⁷. Additional condemnations against revolution were contained in *Saul* where Lummenaeus took pains to disentangle the future king David from any complicity in toppling the title hero from his throne. As in the biblical source, David's flight from the vengeful Saul is shown here to have been undertaken for the sole purpose of preventing a fatal encounter between David and the king³⁸. In this way, Lummenaeus not only imbued his play with the historical truth of the Bible but also suggested the folly of any campaign such as the Protestant revolt which intended to violate the sanctity of a monarch's legitimate claim to rule.

Although Lummenaeus' choice of topic was doubtless related to the Counter-Reformation campaign in Ghent, his works were not solely intended as social and political polemics. Through their adumbration of contemporary events, Lummenaeus' plots merely made the readers

³⁶ *Carcer Babylonius* (1610), pp. 15-21 (Act III chorus). Garnier also discussed the problem of rebellion in *Les Juifves*: Gillian Jondorf, *Robert Garnier and the Themes of Political Tragedy in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1969), pp. 100-21.

³⁷ Lummenaeus hoped that this tragedy would reveal the folly of political ambition: "Sic rapimur plerumque ad enormia facinora, atque adeo sine sanguine non ludimus, ubi ambitio facem admoverit. Miseri mortales! qui sic ad purpuram et fasces gradiuntur". *Abimelechus. Tragoedia sacra* (Duaci, typis Petri Avroi, 1622), p. 4.

³⁸ Lummenaeus had David voice the familiar Senecan opposition between the *vita rustica*/ *vita aulica* in Act III, so as to make plain David's disinterest in political matters: "heu! quod regiae/ Transcriptus aulae, purpurae adsuevi miser,/ Et coccus humeris fulsit inductus meis", therefore, "Saul in oestro, vivat, hoc unum est meum,/ Et quae dedisti, sceptrum, transmittito libens./ Pacem rogamus, exultat bello salus". *Saul. Tragoedia sacra* (Gandavi, apud Ioan. Kerckhovium, 1621), pp. 13; 14.

more receptive to the moral lessons. In contrast to the Jesuits who educated their audiences through a clever combination of dogma and spectacle, Lummenaeus dispensed with any analysis of the ethical issues and strove to convince his audiences of their validity through a graphic description of the tragic downfalls of the men who overlooked them. To put it plainly, Lummenaeus replaced an intellectual approach to morality with a rhetorical exploration of the states of lust, greed, anger, vengeance, grief, cruelty and despair which afflicted his tragic heroes. With such intentions, it is not at all surprising that Lummenaeus would turn to Seneca as a model, for these emotions had long been considered the stuff of the Roman's dramas. In the 1514 Badius edition of Seneca's tragedies, for example, the commentator Daniel Gaietanus had asserted that the Roman's works, like those of his Greek predecessors Sophocles and Euripides, portrayed "materia dolor: lachrymae, odium, insanae caedes"³⁹. Similar opinions reappeared in Julius Caesar Scaliger's definition of tragedy in his influential *Poetice* (1561); the 1593 Senecan commentary of the Antwerp Jesuit Martinus Del Rio; and in Lummenaeus' 1617 dedicatory preface to his *Amnon*: "Multis hic in orchestra exhibitum lacrymas elicit, cordolium provocavit, considerantibus dubias Regum vices, Amnonis furias, et Thamarae luctum veluti in pergula spectantibus"⁴⁰. Despite Lummenaeus' eagerness to recreate Senecan drama in a biblical setting, a close comparison of the plays of both writers reveals significant differences between the pagan model and Lummenaeus' Christian tragedy. Through his faithful imitation of Senecan language and plot, Lummenaeus unwittingly revealed the fundamental disharmony between paganism and Christianity and the

³⁹ *L. Annaei Senecae Tragoediae pristinae integritati restitutae per exactissimi iudicii viros* ... ([Paris], 1514), f. Aa v^r. For a discussion of the passions in Senecan Renaissance tragedy, see Gordon Braden, *Renaissance Tragedy and the Senecan Tradition: Anger's Privilege* (New Haven, 1985), pp. 63-114.

⁴⁰ J. C. Scaliger, who considered Seneca an equal, if not a more accomplished tragedian, than the Greeks, devised a definition of tragedy in keeping with his Senecan enthusiasm: "oratio gravis, culta, a vulgi dictione aversa, tota facies anxiosa, metus, minae, exilia, mortes". See J. C. Scaliger, *Poetices libri septem*, ed. August Buck, Faksimile-Neudruck der Ausgabe von Lyon 1561 (Stuttgart/Bad Cannstatt, 1964), p. 11. Martinus Del Rio espoused similar opinions based on his reading of the post-classical grammarian Diomedes (late 4th century A. D.) and J. C. Scaliger: "In tragoedia introducuntur Heroës, duces, reges; in comoedia, humiles atque privatae personae, in illa luctus, exilia, caedes; in hac amores, et virginum raptus". M. Del Rio, *Syntagma tragoediae Latinae in tres partes distinctum* (Antverpiae, ex officina Plantiniana, apud viduam et Ioan. Moretum, 1593), p. 3. See also Lummenaeus, *Amnon* (1617), f. A2.

philosophical and theological dangers of an uncritical imitation of the ancients.

II

We have hitherto discussed Lummenaeus' tragedies in a general way as products of the tendency among Latin and vernacular dramatists to impart timely moral instruction in their biblical plays. Such a purpose is not of course surprising, for most Renaissance religious drama had been written to fulfill this didactic end. But Lummenaeus' tragedies were strikingly different from earlier Latin biblical plays in the Netherlands or elsewhere. In keeping with their Senecan temper, his dramas abounded with the *furor* of desperate men, elaborate choral songs and the pathetic lamentations of sinners. The colloquial language and unencumbered syntax of Latin school drama as practiced by Schonaeus was now replaced by a mannered, convoluted style replete with unusual words, novel metaphors and exotic similes. Lummenaeus most likely chose this rhetorically self-conscious discourse in order to adhere to the late Renaissance concept of tragic decorum. Following Horace (*Ars poetica* 89-98), sixteenth-century theorists such as Bartholomaeus Riccius, Julius Caesar Scaliger and Martinus Del Rio had prescribed that tragic language be as weighty and dignified as its plot and characters⁴¹. *Gravitas* became the stylistic imperative of all well-written tragedies, and Seneca, along with Sophocles and, to a lesser degree, Euripides, were regarded as the main sources of the requisite pathos⁴².

Lummenaeus' distinctiveness as a playwright did not arise, however,

⁴¹ J. C. Scaliger, p. 11. In his 1576 edition of Seneca's tragedies, Del Rio relied heavily on Bartholomaeus Riccius' discussion of tragedy in his *De imitatione* (1545), Book I, for his understanding of tragic *gravitas*. For both Riccius and Del Rio, *gravitas* was revealed in three ways: by the characters' high social station, the tragedy's violent subject matter, and by the earnest *sententiae* which the playwright allowed the characters and the chorus to express. See M. Del Rio, *In L. Annaei Senecae ... tragoedias decem* (Antverpiae, ex officina Christophori Plantini, 1576), f. ***3^v — ***4.

⁴² J. C. Scaliger's favorable comparison of Seneca's style to that of the Greeks became the basis for the late 16th-century reception of this writer: "Seneca seorsum suas tuetur partes, quem nullo Graecorum maiestate inferiorem existimo: cultu vero ac nitore etiam Euripide maiorem. Inventiones sanè illorum sunt: at maiestas carminis, sonus, spiritus ipsius. In quibus Sophoclis se esse voluit similiorem, frustra fuit". J. C. Scaliger, VI. 6, p. 323. Cf. Del Rio, *In Senecae tragoedias*, f. ***3 — ***4, and the less favorable opinion of Justus Lipsius ("Sonus in iis [tragoediis] et granditas quaedam tragica, fateor: sed nonne adfectatio saepe et tumor"?), from his *Animadversiones* as cited in Del Rio, *Syntagma*, p. 72.

from either his selection of Seneca or his embrace of the *gravitas* ideal. In the first place, Lummenaeus was not the first Netherlander to employ Seneca as a model. Dignified and weighty language had already appeared in the doleful outcries of the prodigal son in Gulielmus Gnapheus' *Acolastus* and to an even greater extent, in the speeches of the pagan tyrants in the martyr plays of Gregorius Holonius and Andreas Hoius⁴³. Moreover, contemporaries of Lummenaeus such as Nicolaus Vernulaeus and Daniel Heinsius also used Senecan language for their historical plays while Hugo Grotius imitated the Roman tragedian in his biblical dramas *Adamus Exul* and *Christus Patiens*⁴⁴. Lummenaeus, however, distinguished himself from all these playwrights by placing the ideal of tragic *gravitas* above the moral and theological significance of his dramatic plots. I do not mean to suggest that Lummenaeus dispensed with the ethical lessons — the needs of the Catholic reformers in Ghent were much too urgent to tolerate such freedom — but rather that he deemed the maintenance of tragic *gravitas* much more essential to his biblical tragedies than the clear and unadorned exposition of Christian doctrine.

The reasons for Lummenaeus' establishment of *gravitas* as the central principle of his dramatic compositions are much more complex than they first appear. Although many playwrights attempted to uphold a judicious balance between their moral and stylistic aspirations, Lummenaeus seemed singularly obsessed by literary ambition. His fidelity to his aesthetic ideals was in fact motivated by both poetological and poetic concerns. In the former instance, Lummenaeus derived his

⁴³ See, e.g., *Acolastus* (V.2) where the returning prodigal mourns the vicissitudes of fortune. Gnapheus was well aware that his comedy occasionally exceeded the bounds of comic decorum: "Argumentum... quod in comoediae formam cogi posse iudicarem, praeterquam quod hic res subinde in nimis tragicas exeat exclamaciones idque praeter comicas illas leges, quas nobis tradidit Flaccus". G. Gnapheus, *Acolastus*, hsg. von J. Bolte, Lateinische Litteraturdenkmäler des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts, 1 (Berlin, 1891), pp. 1-2; ed. P. Minderaa, *Zwolve Drukken en Herdrukken*, 15 (Zwolle, 1956), p. 50. See also the character of Maxentius, the persecutor of St. Catharine of Alexandria, in Gregorius Holonius, *Catharina. Tragoedia de fortissimo S. Catharinae Virginis... certamine* (Antverpiae, apud Ioan. Bellerum, 1556), and the pagan magicians Zarous and Arphaxaddus in Andreas Hoius, *Matthaeus* printed in *Matthaeus et Macchabaeus sive Constantia. Tragoediae sacrae* (Duaci, ex officina Ioannis Bogardi, 1587).

⁴⁴ For a discussion of the Senecan characteristics of Vernulaeus' plays, see *Henry VIII. A Neo-Latin Drama by Nicolaus Vernulaeus*, ed. Louis A. Schuster (Austin, 1964), pp. 27-34; on Heinsius, see Becker-Cantarino, pp. 125-26; 138-42. A recent examination of Grotius' Senecan *imitatio* can be found in Parente, pp. 56-59.

concept of drama from the Antwerp Jesuit Del Rio, and that writer's definition of tragedy in his 1593 commentary on Seneca. Del Rio, who had initially been trained as a lawyer, was an ardent student of Graeco-Roman drama, and his first commentary on Seneca's tragedies (1576) demonstrated his uninhibited dedication to classical philology⁴⁵. But in 1593, after weathering a religious crisis brought on by his recognition of the philosophical shortcomings of Stoicism, Del Rio, now a Jesuit, published a revision of his 1576 commentary with warnings to his Christian readers about the pagan's errors. Despite his newly discovered piety and his clever proof that Seneca the tragedian and Seneca the philosopher were one and the same, Del Rio held that some moral and literary benefit could still be derived from the Roman's plays⁴⁶. As a student of classical theater, Lummenaeus most likely knew Del Rio's edition and commentary. The latter's concern with restricting the spread of philosophical error and heresy no doubt appealed to Lummenaeus' attitude as a Catholic reformer⁴⁷. Moreover, Del Rio's caveats about the potential dangers of pagan literature may have well inspired Lummenaeus' decision to compose biblical rather than secular plays.

In light of the philosophical similarities between these two writers, it is not surprising that Lummenaeus derived his concept of tragedy from Del Rio's remarks on that genre in the 1593 commentary. As an accomplished classical philologist, Del Rio had an extensive knowledge of both Graeco-Roman theater and Renaissance commentaries on it. In the prolegomenon to his 1593 commentary, he recounted the history, development and characteristics of tragedy and cited both classical writers, chiefly Aristotle and Diomedes, as well as several sixteenth-century theoreticians, especially Antonio Minturno and J.C. Scaliger, in support of his arguments⁴⁸. Because of the brevity of Scaliger's remarks on tragedy, Del Rio relied mainly on Minturno's *De Poeta* (1559) for his interpretation of the relevant chapters from Aristotle's *Poetics*. As a result, Del Rio followed Minturno's emphasis on diction

⁴⁵ For a discussion of Del Rio's career as a humanist propagator of the Counter-Reformation, see M. Dreano, *Humanisme chrétien. La Tragédie latine commentée pour les chrétiens du XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1936), especially, pp. 32-60.

⁴⁶ Del Rio, *Syntagma*, f. 4^v — 33; pp. 52-56; 65-69.

⁴⁷ Del Rio's fervor for inculcating Catholic moral precepts arose from his concern with the growth of heresy in the late 16th century: "hoc aevum, quo incesta pro castis placent, falsa sanis praeferuntur, et bene loquendi multa, bene agendi ferè nulla monita Criticorum scriptis proponuntur". Ibid., f. 33.

⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 2-26.

(*elocutio*) rather than Aristotle's emphasis on plot (*fabula*) in defining the function and intention of the genre. Aristotle had originally relegated diction (ἁξις) to fourth place in his list of the essential parts of tragedy (*Poetics* 6) and devoted relatively little space to its description. Minturno and Del Rio, however, allotted substantial portions of their essays to the manner in which tragic language delineated characterizations (*mores*) and emotions (*perturbationes*)⁴⁹. This subordination of plot to style resulted in the reinterpretation of tragedy in accordance with its newly founded rhetorical purpose. Del Rio, for example, simplified Aristotle's concept of catharsis by dispensing with the idea of expiation or purification and interpreting the arousal of pity and fear as the general pathos produced by sorrowful events⁵⁰. More importantly, he argued for the centrality of *gravitas* and explained the means by which playwrights could achieve it:

cavendum interea ne quid de ornatu et orationis magnificentia decedat. omnino namque ornata et condita suavi gravitate debet esse tragici oratio. id consequetur, si pedum apta collocatione, et numerorum varietate, et iucundo chororum cantu demulcens aures, simul etiam verborum figuris, pondere sententiarum, dictis severis, rebusque illustrioribus, auctoritatem sibi comparare, et spectatoribus admirationem incutere conetur. Plane severam esse debere tragoediam, violentam, animosam, et quae gravitate genus omne scripti vincat⁵¹.

Through the novelty of figures and tropes, the use of foreign and unusual words and the startling variety of metaphors and similes, Del Rio subsequently asserted, tragedy attained the desired effect of terrifying the audience and moving them to tears⁵².

As an avid supporter of the Counter-Reformation, Del Rio did not of course endorse the purposeless exercise of poetic gifts; Lummenaeus likewise shared his application of rhetorical skills to the service of Rome. But Lummenaeus' subscription to Del Rio's *gravitas* ideal was

⁴⁹ Here Minturno and Del Rio expanded Aristotle's argument (*Poetics* 19) for a close relationship between *mores* (δράματα) and *elocutio*. Cf. A. Minturno, *De Poeta ... libri sex* (Venetiis, apud Franciscum Rampazetum, 1559, reprinted München, 1970), pp. 191-239; 447-559. In contrast, Minturno only devotes 10 pages to Aristotle's concept of *fabula* and its relationship to catharsis (pp. 180-91). See also Del Rio, *Syntagma*, pp. 4; 11-12.

⁵⁰ Del Rio interpreted Aristotle's prescriptive "misericordiae et terroris commotionem" to mean that the endings of all tragedies were "timore et moerore plenos". Del Rio, *Syntagma*, p. 4.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid., p. 11.

not governed solely by a desire to adhere to poetological norms. His employment of a highly stylized, emotional discourse was also determined by his own poetic ambitions. We have already examined a few examples of Lummenaeus' novel transformation of earlier vernacular and Latin plays. This quest for originality through emulation extended to contemporary writers as well. In composing his biblical tragedies, Lummenaeus also appeared to provide a Catholic reprieve to the Neo-Senecan dramas written in Holland by Daniel Heinsius, Hugo Grotius and Rochus Honerdus. After many years of neglect, Latin theater in Ghent had recently been revived by the Jesuits, and in developing an uniquely rhetorical style, Lummenaeus hoped to contribute to the establishment of his birthplace as a literary center equal, if not superior, to Protestant writers in the North. The expansive panegyric of Ghent *literati* by the local humanist David Lindanus in which Lummenaeus was ranked alongside Franciscus and Justus de Harduwijn, the historian Antonius Sanderus and Heinsius himself prefaced the 1608 edition of *Jephthe* as a harbinger of the dawn of a new poetic era⁵³. As Lummenaeus was well aware, both Heinsius, whose family had emigrated from Ghent to the North when the poet was three, and Grotius had gone to great lengths to recreate the decorous nobility of tragedy in their early Latin plays. In the *Auriacus* (1602), Heinsius transformed Senecan fate tragedy into a political threnody on the assassination of William of Orange. Heinsius' drama also betrayed his familiarity with Greek tragedy, especially with Sophocles and Euripides and with Renaissance prescriptions about the structure and language of a neo-classical play⁵⁴. Grotius had likewise

⁵³ D. Lindanus' poem was printed in Lummenaeus à Marca, *Jephthe* (1608), pp. 5-10. The numerous liminary poems which prefaced printed versions of Lummenaeus' plays were patterned after the late Renaissance practice of likening the new author to the classical masters in his genre. For examples of liminary praise of Lummenaeus, see Sanderus' poem and the epigram of Vrientius in *Jephthe* (1608), pp. 11-13; 15. Heinsius, Grotius and Honerdus were likewise hailed as the heirs of the Graeco-Roman tradition by their humanist colleagues, especially Joseph Justus Scaliger, Janus Gruterus and Janus Douza. More important for Lummenaeus, however, was the local patriotism of his fellow humanists who regarded each tragedy as evidence that the Tragic Muse had indeed left Rome for Ghent and that Lummenaeus' works would spread the fame of Ghent throughout the learned world. The presence of such urban pride suggests that the Ghent playwright most likely intended his tragedies as poetic challenges to the literary self-confidence of the Protestant North. In his 1622 letter to Grotius (see note 12), Lummenaeus seemed especially eager to gain the latter's recognition of his artistry by sending him two of his tragedies.

⁵⁴ See Heinsius' letter to the reader in his *Auriacus sive Libertas Saucia* (Lugduni Batavorum, apud Andream Clouquium, 1602), f. D3-D3^v.

been inspired by the Greek repertoire and Renaissance tragic theory, and he composed his Neo-Senecan *Adamus Exul* (1601) on the Fall of Man to inspire his fellow humanists to practice the genre more frequently⁵⁵. Similarly, in his *Thamara* (1611), Rochus Honerdus demonstrated his familiarity with both ancient tragedy and Aristotle's *Poetics*. His characterization of King David as an unwitting perpetrator of the tragedy was most likely inspired by Aristotle's definition of a complex plot (*Poetics* 10) in which the tragic dénouement arose through an unforeseen reversal of fortune and the recognition by the protagonist of his error⁵⁶. In contrast, Lummenaeus directed his creative energy chiefly towards the rhetorical ability of his plays to incite the audience's admiration for his work and to impel them to avoid the sins portrayed on the stage. Whereas the Protestant dramatists in Holland subordinated tragic *gravitas* to plot and characterizations, Lummenaeus attempted to create a new type of theater in which stylistic virtuosity was used to overpower the audience and induce their willing submission to Rome.

Having clarified the reasons for Lummenaeus' development of a new aesthetic ideal, I shall now consider the practical aspects of his imitation of Seneca and their effect on his dramaturgy. As an author of humanist tragedy, Lummenaeus naturally turned to the works of the only surviving Roman tragedian for the form and language of his play. He arranged his plots over five acts and inserted a lyrical chorus between them; as in *Troades* and *Hercules Oetaeus*, the chorus also functioned as a character within specific scenes⁵⁷. Occasionally a few figures from Seneca reappeared in Lummenaeus' dramas: the messenger who delivers the tragic news (*Jephthe*, *Amnon*), the consolatory nurse (*Amnon*), the prudent advisor (*Carcer Babylonius*), the subterranean ghost who heralds the vengeful plot (*Bustum Sodomaes*, *Abimelechus*) and the sorceress who forecasts the irreversible tragic dénouement (*Saul*). As for reminiscences of Senecan language, Lummenaeus' plays

⁵⁵ Hugo Grotius, *Sacra in quibus Adamus Exul* as printed in *De dichtwerken van Hugo Grotius. I. Oorspronkelijke Dichtwerken. Eerste deel 1*, ed. B. L. Meulenbroek, et al. (Assen, 1976), p. 23.

⁵⁶ In contrast to Lummenaeus, Honerdus was more concerned with the pious content and moral lessons of his play: "Spero equidem tibi hanc nostram [tragoediam], si non verborum calamitris, pietatis certe pondere, occultisque praeceptis placituram". Moreover, Honerdus was very conscious of David's central role in the tragedy and the numerous moral lessons ("implexa disciplina") which could be derived from the behavior of the other characters (Amnon, Absalom) whose respective tragic fates arose from God's desire to punish David for his earlier crimes. Honerdus, sig. ***.

⁵⁷ E.g., *Jephthe* (1608/1613), Act IV; (1628), Act II.

overflow with extended apostrophes to the gods, vivid descriptions of the horrors and irresistibility of *furor* and similes of rolling waves and rapacious animals to denote the perilousness of existence and the brevity of good fortune. What is much more significant for our argument are the familiar elements of Seneca's style which Lummenaeus, unlike contemporary Senecan imitators in French and Neo-Latin drama, has not borrowed. In general, Lummenaeus severely limited his use of the moralistic sentences and lengthy stichomythic exchanges which had provided the rational, intellectual substance of Seneca's tragedies. A notable exception is the debate on kingship in *Carcer Babylonius* which Lummenaeus adapted from Garnier⁵⁸. But for the most part, his plays consist of a series of monologues, generally one in each act, in which his figures give vent to their emotions in an often repetitive fashion so as to impress the audience with the desperateness of their situations. Consider, for exemple, the lamentation of Abraham in *Bustum Sodomaë* about his affair with Hagar and his lack of a legitimate heir from his wife Sarah (Genesis 16):

Et me illud olim conficit thalami probrum,
Fastidiumque; nempe dum nullus meam
Haeres flagellet aream, sanguis tuus
Sare, meusque, Gargara haec frustra meto
Frustra uda quercus melle et ambrosia scatet
Et rupe dura balsami sudat latex.
Heu fida Coniunx! heu! quod amplexu meo,
Heu me! quod uteri vota non stringo tui!⁵⁹

The characters provide little, if any, advancement of the dramatic action — the plot, such as there is, is usually summarized by the chorus — and they devote all their energies to their rhetorical tirades.

Lummenaeus also generally refrained from using dialogue as a means of exploring the passions and motivations of his characters. Instead, he assigned monologues to separate acts to present contrastive emotional states. In the first three acts of *Amnon*, for example, Lummenaeus presents the lust of the title hero, the shame of the ravaged Tamar and the vengeance of Absalom; or more markedly in *Saul*, he juxtaposes the political ambition of the protagonist to the apolitical yearning of David for the *vita rustica*. When characters finally do speak to each other,

⁵⁸ *Carcer Babylonius* (1610), Act IV.

⁵⁹ *Bustum Sodomaë* (1615), p. 9; (1628), pp. 7-8.

such as Jephthah and his daughter Hyanthe, they are so overcome with emotion that they can barely confess what ails them:

Hyant: Video parentem; pater, io salve pater.
Iepht: Perii! *Hyant:* Quid est? quid audio? *Iepht:* perî! ah perî!
Hyant: Heu me! peristi Genitor? ô Genitor! quid est?
Iepht: Et ipsa mecum! *Hyant:* Quid stupes? eheu pater!
Iepht: Perii! *Hyant:* Quid isthoc rursus? *Iepht:* O coelum! ô solum!
 Perii! *Hyant:* Quid hoc est? quid mihi et tibi est Pater?
Iepht: Miseranda! *Hyant:* Quid sic? *Iepht:* Quaeris? ô si nescias!
Hyant: Nescire poena est. *Iepht:* Quod tamen feriet magis
 Audire; perii! *Hyant:* Cur mihi peris pater?
Iepht: Quia tu peristi⁶⁰.

As with the monologues, Lummenaeus' use of dialogue was directed solely towards the stimulation of the audience's passions. Indeed, Lummenaeus' exclusive reliance on self-exploratory soliloquies and rhetorical dialogue allowed him to bring about a purely emotional response to the tragic situation. With his audience in the receptive state of emotional exhilaration through the grandiloquence of his language, Lummenaeus thus endeavored to convince them through the arousal of pathos that the obedience which God and his Church demanded from both the protagonists and themselves was their sole refuge from eternal damnation.

In order to place his tragic figures and audience *in extremis* and to evoke an even more lugubrious reaction, Lummenaeus attempted to recreate the pessimistic atmosphere of Senecan Fate tragedy in his biblical dramas. The Old Testament was particularly well suited for this purpose, for the events it chronicled appeared to occur in a seemingly unbroken chain of crime and retribution from the Fall of Adam until Nebuchadnezzar's conquest of Jerusalem. To heighten this impression, Lummenaeus likened the Senecan concept of Fate to original sin and rarely mentioned the New Testament promise that man would one day be liberated from the evil consequences of the Fall⁶¹. In this way, he was able to imply that the present tragedy, be it the destruction of Jerusalem, the incestuous love of Amnon, or the fraternal enmity between Abimelech and his brothers, was inevitable because of man's

⁶⁰ As quoted from the 1628 edition, p. 67. Cf. *Jephte* (1613) in *Opera omnia*, pp. 133-34.

⁶¹ E.g., *Bustum Sodomae* (1615), p. 33, where the chorus remarks about man's inescapable bondage to sin: "Nec sic corrigimur tamen,/ Semper degeneres, malo/ Procedente licentius, /Postquam oblivio numinis/ Ostendit sceleri viam".

fallen state. Moreover, in his choruses, Lummenaeus carefully catalogued past tragedies which resembled the present crisis so as to emulate the Senecan idea of man's inescapability from crime. The faithless Jews of besieged Jerusalem in the *Carcer Babylonius*, for example, were considered doomed from the outset because of man's spiritual bondage to sin. The Jewish rebels' renunciation of God for idolatry was by no means surprising, for such weaknesses had already been presaged by similar infractions in the past from the Golden Calf to the apostasies of Solomon and Jeroboam. With such an extensive record of crime, so Lummenaeus argued, the present destruction would inevitably be followed by another should the Jews ever recover from their current plight⁶². Similarly, in many of his other tragedies, Lummenaeus found numerous biblical precedents for the sins he represented: the Fall of Man and the Flood preceded the destruction of Sodom (*Bustum Sodomae*); Amnon's incest was foreshadowed by the rape of Lot by his daughters and the molestation of Diana by Shechem (Genesis 34), and Abimelech's fratricide by the murder of Abel⁶³. Even in *Dives Epulo*, which was based on a New Testament parable, Lummenaeus was quick to locate the action before the Redemption — after all, the beggar Lazarus rests after death in Abraham's bosom not Christ's — so that the rich man's addiction to the allegorical figure of Voluptas would appear even more unavoidable⁶⁴.

To reinforce the atmosphere of hopelessness, Lummenaeus also refrained from drawing any christological parallels between Old Testament events and the New Testament as had been customary in sixteenth-century theater⁶⁵. In opposition to the opinions of many patristic and medieval commentators, the death of Jephthah's daughter in Lummenaeus' play did not prefigure Christ's sacrificial death⁶⁶; similarly, Lummenaeus omitted Samson's suicidal destruction of Dagon's temple lest his heroic action herald the Redemption. On the contrary, to Lummenaeus' mind, Jephthah's daughter and Samson were conceived solely as Senecan figures tragically constrained by Fate or their passions to perish.

⁶² *Carcer Babylonius* (1610), pp. 15-21.

⁶³ *Bustum Sodomae* (1615), pp. 32-35; *Amnon* (1617), p. 7.

⁶⁴ *Dives Epulo*, p. 20. Lummenaeus' reference to the Messiah here is primarily intended as a promise to the beggar Lazarus that he would be welcomed into heaven by Christ only after the Redemption.

⁶⁵ Parente, pp. 66-74.

⁶⁶ Cf. Iphis in Buchanan's *Jephthes*. See McGregor, p. 134.

Despite the accuracy of Lummenaeus' imitation of Seneca's world view, serious problems arose because of the incongruity between Lummenaeus' moralistic goals and his aesthetic ambitions. To be sure, Lummenaeus' presentation of the doomed tragic heroes of the Senecan stage in biblical garb and his emotive magniloquent discourse aptly served his Counter-Reformation purpose of enforcing obedience to Rome. His emulation of Senecan style and his application of Seneca to a Judaeo-Christian context further reaped him accolades from his fellow humanists. Upon closer inspection, however, it is evident that Lummenaeus' ascription of an ethical lesson to his Neo-Senecan plays sharply clashed with the fatalistic mood he wished to create. In all of his dramas, Lummenaeus the moralist clearly suggested that the tragic demise of his protagonists could well have been avoided through their adherence to God's commands. Though flawed by original sin, all of Lummenaeus' biblical heroes possessed the free will to avert catastrophe through repentance, but blinded by their pride and ambition they continued to defy God and were punished. The tragedies which destroy Lummenaeus' heroes do not therefore arise from the same inexplicable, irrational force which reduced Troy to ashes in Seneca's *Troades* and drove Atreus to ever more horrible acts of vengeance in *Thyestes*; they originate rather in man's conscious decision to choose sin over virtue. Amnon succumbs to his incestuous passion for Tamar though well aware of his crime; Jephthah chooses to fulfill his rash oath and sacrifice his daughter even though he realizes the unnaturalness of this action; and Saul despairs of survival because he falsely believes that he has already been doomed. Of course several of Seneca's figures also appeared to possess the ability to avoid disaster, but this liberty was merely a delusion. Had Phaedra (*Hippolytus*) heeded the nurse's counsel to control her passion, the tragedy still could not have been avoided, for as Seneca makes plain, the gods had already ordained it⁶⁷. From the moral theological perspective of the Catholic Lummenaeus, however, the tragedies which befall men are not ascribable to the mysterious workings of Fate or Fortuna but rather serve as just retributions for their crimes⁶⁸.

⁶⁷ Seneca, *Hippolytus* 124-28; 274-95. The powerlessness of both Phaedra and Hippolytus was made even more apparent in Euripides' *Hippolytus* where Venus is clearly shown to have instigated the tragedy.

⁶⁸ By emphasizing divine retribution, Lummenaeus followed Del Rio's criticism of Seneca for denying the concept of punishment for evil after death: Del Rio, *Syntagma*, p. 52.

Lummenaeus' establishment of Senecan tragedy as an aesthetic ideal thus resulted in a disharmony between his moral and literary intentions. With the fervor of a Catholic reformer eager for poetic fame, Lummenaeus embraced Del Rio's subordination of tragic plot to tragic language and uncritically attempted to transfer the world of Senecan Fate tragedy to the Christian stage. Del Rio's guarded approach to Senecan plots had of course been motivated by his own newly found skepticism about Stoicism in general. As a classical philologist, he welcomed Seneca chiefly as a stylistic and formal model rather than as a reliable source for philosophical wisdom. In contrast, Lummenaeus failed to perceive the theological consequences of a literal recreation of Senecan tragedy within a Judaeo-Christian context. In his zeal to surpass the dramatic accomplishments of the Protestant Neo-Senecans in Holland, Lummenaeus emphasized *gravitas* at the expense of plot and thereby produced an anomalous set of plays in which neither Seneca nor Christianity was unequivocally represented.

III

Lummenaeus' uniqueness as a biblical dramatist lay in his subordination of style to plot and his indiscriminate attempt to adapt the form and language of Seneca to the moral and literary aspirations of the Counter-Reformation. In conclusion, I should like to discuss the implications of this judgment for clarifying the central issue for all religious dramatists, viz., the appropriate method for a Christian playwright to imitate the ancients. Modern critics, especially those who discuss the *Seneca Christianus* tradition, have been quite hasty in classifying religious plays as either christianizations of the ancients or paganizations of sacred topics⁶⁹. Christianization has generally been understood as the application of a classical author's form and language to a Christian subject. On the other hand, the term paganization has customarily been applied to religious works which appear heavily indebted to their Graeco-Roman model. The problem with this terminology has been the inconsistent manner in which it has been applied: the degree to which a playwright adheres to or deviates from a classical writer has often

⁶⁹ See note 1 above for references to the *Seneca Christianus* tradition. The *Terentius Christianus* style has been most effectively described by Marvin T. Herrick, *Tragicomedy, Its Origins and Development in Italy, France and England*, 2nd ed. (Urbana, Illinois, 1962), pp. 16-62.

depended solely on an individual critic's perspective of a Renaissance text⁷⁰. There are, however, much more precise criteria than style and form for distinguishing between these two important methods of imitation.

Lummenaeus' distinctive place in the canon of biblical drama provides an excellent opportunity to define these two contrastive practices with greater accuracy. When Lummenaeus' tragedies are compared to those of his contemporary Neo-Senecan rival Hugo Grotius, for example, two important standards emerge for differentiating christianization from paganization. In the case of christianization, exemplified here by Grotius, the playwright possesses a circumspect, if not critical, attitude towards his classical model; he also considers the moral and theological significance of his plot of primary importance. In the case of paganization, the author, represented here by Lummenaeus, disregards the discrepancy between the antique and Christian worlds and views his own work as a continuation, and if possible an improvement, of the classical literary tradition.

As a christianizer of Senecan tragedy, Grotius adopted an explicitly critical stance towards the pagan model by emphasizing the philosophical and ethical differences between his Christian works and Seneca⁷¹. In his *Adamus Exul*, he denigrated the Senecan-Stoic ideal of the wise, rational man by ascribing Adam and Eve's fall to their confidence that their intellectual faculties made them equal, if not superior, to God. Grotius further underlined his skepticism about man's ability to attain the Stoic ideal of dispassionate self-control by attributing Adam's fall to his enslavement to his carnal desire for Eve⁷². At the same time, he took care to interpret the biblical story not as a pessimistic Fate tragedy, but as a theological drama about Christian man's bondage to sin. Similarly, in the eyes of his contemporaries, Grotius' tragedy was praised not so much as a revival of the ancients but as a Christian

⁷⁰ The most pronounced example of such terminological confusion is found in a recent discussion of Grotius' *Christus Patiens* where Christ is considered both a "Christianized Seneca" and a "senecized Christ". Gellinek, p. 18.

⁷¹ For a more detailed discussion of Grotius' critical reception of Seneca, see Parente, pp. 56-58. The Jesuit playwright Jacob Balde similarly adopted a critical stance towards Seneca in his *Jephtias* (first performed 1637): Valentin, pp. 60-61.

⁷² Satan appeals to Eve's rational faculties to persuade her that she is entitled to eat the forbidden fruit; Eve subsequently implores Adam to accompany her in pursuit of freedom and wisdom; Grotius, *Adamus Exul* (1970 ed.), pp. 119-21; 133-41.

response to the “res fictas” of Sophocles and Seneca⁷³. With his emphasis on the plot and motives of his characters, rather than on the development of an accomplished tragic style, Grotius safely ensured that a decorous philosophical distance remained between his sacred drama and Seneca’s pagan world.

Whereas the christianization of a classical writer is predicated on the explicit disharmony between Christian and ancient thought, the paganization of a religious subject is based on an implicit congruence between the Graeco-Roman world and the Christian era. The same confidence with which Renaissance classical scholars defended the utility of a potentially dangerous author, such as Del Rio’s apologia for Seneca, was shared by writers like Lummenaeus who dedicated their poetic careers to the preservation of the ancients in Christian garb. To be sure, as Lummenaeus’ works have demonstrated, the Judaeo-Christian tradition frequently clashed with the philosophical beliefs of the Graeco-Roman model, but these disparities were overlooked for the sake of aesthetic ideals. To his fellow humanists, Lummenaeus’ greatness did not arise from his moral reform of pagan literature, but from his skillful combination of the “heart of Sophocles, the mind of Euripides, the genius of Terence, the wit of Plautus and the lofty song pouring forth from Seneca”⁷⁴. In his seven biblical tragedies, Lummenaeus envisioned his subjects first from a literary and then a moral perspective and thereby created a new type of religious theater dominated by invention and magniloquence.

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⁷³ Ibid., p. 29, for the liminary poem to *Adamus Exul* by Janus Dousa.

⁷⁴ “Cor Sophoclis, mens Euripidis, geniusque Terenti/ Sal Plauti, et Senecae grande sonantis epos/ Quem capit, à Marcam capiat ...” from a liminary poem of Maxaemilianus Vrientius: *Jephthe* (1608), p. 13.

Ingrid A.R. DE SMET

AMATUS FORNACIUS, *AMATOR INEPTUS* (PALLADII, 1633):
a Seventeenth-Century Satire*

I. INTRODUCTION

1. *Ut in limpido speculo*

A subtle union of criticism and mockery, of scorn and wry humour, always concrete and rooted in contemporary everyday life, sometimes genial and ever-lasting, but so often doomed to oblivion: such is satire.

Although the very beginning of this genre lies in the Old Comedy of Athens¹, it is mostly a product of Latin authors. Lucilius must have been the first real satirist, but it was Horace who refined the *satura* and brought it to success. Like Horace, Persius and Juvenal gave utterance to their comments on life in poetry. Others left us a mixture of both prose and verse: Varro, Seneca, Petronius. Unfortunately, a large part of the satirical productions of Antiquity has been lost for ever.

Very little of this kind of literature was written during the Middle Ages, but satire revived through the attention of the Humanists. Neo-Latin satires were published, and shared the same glories and misfortunes as their Roman examples. Erasmus's *Laus Stultitiae* — the example of neo-Latin satire par excellence — became world-famous. Other prominent authors like Justus Lipsius, John Barclay or Daniel Heinsius were appreciated as satirists too.

The *Amator ineptus*, written by an obscure Amatus Fornacius and published in 1633, is on the contrary one of those many satires covered with the dust of time.

The *Amator ineptus* tells the story of young Amatus and his clumsi-

* My special thanks go to Dr G. Tournoy, who provided me with photographs of the Latin text and who was always ready to advise me. I am also grateful for the valuable suggestions made by Mr. C. Coppens, Dr R. De Smet, Dr D. Sacré, and Dr A. Welkenhuysen. I further wish to express my gratitude towards Dr P. Valkema Blouw.

¹ G. Highet, *The Anatomy of Satire* (Princeton, N.J., 1962), p. 25-29.

ness in female company. It is precisely this awkward behaviour of his that arouses the interest of the opposite sex. One day, Amatus reluctantly accepts a young lady's invitation to a social gathering, and he does not fail to make a fool of himself. At the same occasion, however, our hero meets fair Psyche and begins to court her. Soon, he discovers that he has two rivals to deal with: one a tedious tattler, and the other a gifted and pleasant gentleman.

Amatus and Psyche's relationship comes to an end because of an argument. Shortly afterwards, the town is gossiping about the unfortunate suitor now paying his attentions to Glycerium, a plain girl whom Amatus's friend Saurea is in love with. In the end, Saurea gets the lady of his heart, and Amatus cannot but dream of another love.

All in all, a rather simple plot, which appears to be a mere pretext for the author to express his satirical views on seventeenth-century society with its refined manners and strict social code.

It may be interesting to know that this booklet was not much appreciated by Jules Gay in his *Bibliographie des ouvrages relatifs à l'amour* ...²; he describes it as a "petit roman fastidieux"³ and calls the hero "ce garçon imbécile, qui débite en mauvais latin et avec pédanterie le récit de ses sottises"⁴.

The *Amator ineptus* may be considered as a Menippean satire — a genre introduced into neo-Latin literature by Justus Lipsius with his *Somnium*⁵. However, the verses larded into the text of the *Amator* were not composed by Fornacius himself but borrowed from Classical authors, like Horace, or Ovid. These quotations and the many allusions to, and reminiscences of, ancient or even more contemporary literature create an atmosphere of pedantry and snobbery, well serving the satirical effect of *The Clumsy Lover*.

Fornacius's attention is mainly directed at making fun of the rules of polite social behaviour ("Gesellschaftskritik"). In chapter seven, for

² [J. Gay], *Bibliographie des ouvrages relatifs à l'amour, aux femmes, au mariage et des livres facétieux, pantagruéliques, scatologiques, satyriques, etc.*, 4e éd. ... mise à jour par J. Lemonnier, I (Paris, 1984⁴).

Gay reports that the Italian *L'Alcibiade fanciullo a scola*, ascribed to Ferrante Pallavicino, was wrongly thought to be the translation of the *Amator ineptus* (col. 44).

³ Id., *ibid.*, col. 89.

⁴ Id., *ibid.*, col. 44.

⁵ Cfr. *Two Neo-Latin Satires. Justus Lipsius: Somnium. Petrus Cunaeus: Sardi venales*, edited with introduction and notes by C. Matheussen and C.L. Heesakkers, *Textus minores LIV* (Leiden, 1980), p. 10.

example, Amatus wants to say “Bless you!” to a girl that had shocked the whole party by farting, as if she had sneezed! A reaction worthy of a real Grobian ... (7.3-4) It is the author’s aim to present the world with what Gilbert Highet would call “a distorting mirror”⁶. Thus, we read in the second chapter: “Ut in limpido speculo et vestras et meas non unas ineptias videbitis” (2.1).

Before saying more about the author, I shall list the known copies of this rare booklet and explain in what form the text is presented in this article.

2. Existing copies and this edition of the text

The *Amator ineptus* is only known from the edition of Palladium, 1633. The *Bibliographie des ouvrages relatifs à l’amour, aux femmes, au mariage*, col. 89, mentions 1644 as well as 1633; this is the only testimony we have of a second edition, as there are no known copies of it.

I have been able to locate six 1633 copies, four of which are bound with other texts, mainly satires.

- A* 1. *Apollinis iudicium politicum in Monteparnasso contra monarchiae sectatores* (Messinae [fictitious location, probably Germany], 1671).
 π 8, A-I 12, 216 p., in-12°.
2. Amatus Fornacius [pseud.], *Amator ineptus* (Palladii, [fictitious location], 1633).
 A-D 12, 93,[1] p., 1 fol. blanco, in-12°.
3. Gaudiosus von Fürwitzhausen [pseud.], *Antidotum melancholiae vel: Schola curiositatis, omnibus hypocondriacis & atra bili laborantibus, sive Fratribus Spleneticis & Melancholicis, vulgo denen Miltzbrüdern* (Frankfurt, impensis Joannis Bencardi bibliopolae, 1670).
 π 2, A 10, B-I 12, [6] fol., 199,[1] p., 2 fol. blanco, in-12°.
 121 × 67 mm; early nineteenth-century sheep leather binding; *the covers*: no decoration; *the spine*: no raised bands, divided into four spaces by double gold lines, shortened titles in the upper space.
 According to the ex-libris, this *convolutum* once belonged to the collection of Dr Bob Luza. His library came under the hammer on

⁶ G. Highet, *The Anatomy of Satire*, p. 148.

* copies that I have been able to consult personally.

15th and 16th December 1981 at A.F. van Gendt & Co. This volume, at present in private hands, does not occur, however, in the auction catalogue, nor is it known to the above mentioned firm. Therefore, it has not been possible to trace the provenance of this booklet.

C* Cambridge (GB), Wren Library, Trinity College, III.1.12

1. *Dissertationum Ludicarum et Amoenitatum, Scriptores varii.* (Lugd: Batavor. Apud Franciscos Hegerum & Hackium, 1638). π 4, Aa 8 (bound at the front instead of at the end), A-Z 12. 568 p. — the pages 553-568 come before p. 1 because of the erroneous binding of the “Aa”-quire; in-12°.

2. Amatus Fornacius [pseud.], *Amator ineptus* (Palladii [fictitious place name], 1633).

A-D 12, 93,[1] p., 1 fol. bl., in-12°.

120 × 70 mm; seventeenth-century (?) dark leather binding; *the covers*: no board leaves; on the outside: double-lined frame pressed into the leather with conchiform decoration in the corners; *the spine*: no raised bands, similar double-lined frame.

This volume apparently belonged to a number of collections; on the first fly-leaf we find the following inscriptions in ink: “E. Lib: R. Annosley (?)”, “Caspar...” and “Laboribus vincas 7”. The name of “Thomas Coop (?)” is marked in pencil.

The endpaper has “Edward” written on it, but upside down and effaced by an ink blot.

In the text of the *Amator ineptus* several passages have been underlined or marked with a marginal cross in pencil. On p. 90 the *i* of *mari* has for some obscure reason been cancelled with brown ink.

E Philadelphia (PA), University of Pennsylvania, FC6A100433A (6th floor of library).

This volume was sold to this library by Ludwig Rosenthal's Antiquariaat in August 1966. The bookshop describes the book in *Catalogus 209* as follows:

“127 AMATUS Fornacius amator ineptus. Palladii (?) 1633. 93 pp. 12^{mo}. Contemporary limp vellum”.

L* London, British Library, 1080.d.28.

Amatus Fornacius [pseud.], *Amatus Fornacius* (Palladii [fictitious place name], 1633).

A-C 12, D 11, 93,[1] p., in-12°.

120 × 71 mm, modern binding (nineteenth-century?); *the covers*: marbled; *the spine*: no raised bands, printing in gold leaf over the whole length: FORNACIUS. AMATOR INEPTUS. PALLADII. 1633.

On the titlepage "Potivox" (Polivox? Potivex?) is written under the word "ineptus". In the bottom corner, on the right hand side, we read "A.C."

P* Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fb 19725-28.

1. *Friderici Dedekindi Ludus satyricus, de morum simplicitate, seu rusticitate, Vulgo dictus Grobianus. Libri tres.* (Lugduni Batavorum, Ex officina Joannis Maire, 1631).

On this title-page: stamp of the "Bibliothèque du roi. Fontainebleau"; on top of the page a note written in ink, illegible because of the cutting of the pages.

A-I 12, 215, [1] p., in-12°.

2. *Jani Bodecheri Benningi Satyricon In corruptae juventutis mores corruptos. Accedunt oratio inauguralis, et Sermones tres.* (Lugduni Batavorum, Ex officina Joannis Maire, 1633).

π 10, A-G 12, H 6, [19], 180, [1] p., in-12°.

3. Amatus Fornacius [pseud.], *Amator ineptus* (Palladii [fictitious place name], 1633).

A-D 12, 93,[1] p., in-12°.

4. *Satyra diaetetes, sive arbiter rerum.* Per Ioan. De Manibus (Parisiis, Excudeb. Dionysius Langlaeus, via Iacobeae, 1514).

a 4, A-E 12, F 5, [8], 130 p., in-12°.

At the end of the *Satyra diaetetes* two pages are misnumbered: p. 125: immo p. 121; p. 106: immo p. 130 — nevertheless, they are correctly bound.

the covers: without decoration; *the spine*: divided into six spaces by five raised bands; "DE MORUM SIMPLICIT" in the second space.

W Madison (Wis.), University of Wisconsin, NF 0245446.

This copy of the *Amator ineptus* is bound with D. Heinsius, *Cras credo hodie nihil. Siue, Modus tandem sit ineptiarum. Satyra Menippea* (Lugd. Batavorum, ex officina Elzeviriana, 1621).

The place-name "Palladium" is entirely fictional. Therefore, the place where the *Amator ineptus* was printed, is very much open to specula-

tion. While consulting the **P** copy, however, I was struck by the material resemblances between the texts of the *Amator ineptus*, dating from 1633, and the *Grobianus* and *Satyricon in corruptae iuventutis mores corruptos*, both printed in the shop of Ioannis Maire in Leiden, 1631. The fourth satire of the *convolutum* looked completely different, naturally, since it was printed in Paris more than a century before the other writings.

The resemblances which I have just mentioned concern, first of all, the quality of the paper. Unfortunately, I have not been able to identify the watermarks of the 1631 printings (a lily) nor the varying watermarks of the *Amator ineptus* (a leaf, a small lily and some other unrecognisable emblems).

Far more important is the use of more or less identical type in the *Satyricon in corruptae iuventutis mores corruptos* and our *Amator ineptus*. Nonetheless, this kind of type was also used in other printing shops of that time.

The capital *S*, however, of "Simplicitas" on page 3 of the *Grobianus* is the twin of the capital *S* of "Scriptum" on page 3 of the *Amator* (See pl. 2, p. 306). According to Dr Valkema Blouw, whom I consulted on this matter, this capital *S* is decisive for the location of the booklet. Comparison with another Jean Maire printing of 1633, the third edition of Hugo Grotius's *De Veritate Religionis Christianae*, shows that this letter was cut in wood, for in the same work there is another specimen of the capital *S* of about the same size but clearly different from the other one. Thus, this woodcut piece of type must be individual and particular to this shop.

In short, there seems to be enough ground to assume that the *Amator ineptus* was printed in Leiden, and even in the same house as the two 1631 satires, viz. Ioannis Maire.

Once we assume the book was indeed printed in Leiden, the choice of "Palladium", the "place of Pallas Athene", becomes clear: Leiden was also called "Athenae Batavae"⁷, and the stamp of the University Library shows a reading Minerva or Athene, surrounded by the heraldic arms of Holland, the house of Orange, and Leiden⁸.

However, the possible location of the book in Holland, does not bear

⁷ See for example: Johannes Meursius, *Athenae Batavae, sive De Vrbe Leidensi, & Academia, virisque claris ..., libri duo* (Apud Andream Cloucqium et Elzevirios, 1625).

⁸ *Leidense Universiteit 400. Stichting en eerste bloei 1575-ca. 1650. Tentoonstellingskatalogoog Rijksmuseum Amsterdam 27 maart-8 juni 1975* (Amsterdam, 1975), C15-19.

upon the provenance of the author. This will be discussed below (pp. 246-248).

The main reason for providing a critical edition and not merely a photographic reproduction of one of the 1633 copies *statu quo*, is the need for a more easily accessible and comprehensible text with modern characters, divided into chapters and paragraphs, with line indications and corrections of the occasional misprint. The text may more effectively be annotated and commented if presented in such a form.

The transcription of the *Amator ineptus* confronted me with an initial, somewhat difficult problem: should the original orthography be respected or not⁹? The author's own spelling cannot be restored due to the lack of an autograph — or any other manuscript at all — nor is the printed text consistent in its spelling.

A complete return to the so-called classical orthography, however, is too radical a solution. Therefore, I have opted for what I consider to be a middle course, in order to offer a fluently legible text that maintains something of the characteristics of neo-Latin spelling.

- The distinction between *u* and *v* has been respected.
- I have done away with the distinction between *i* and *j*, since in the old edition *j* not only refers to the consonant but in some positions stands also for an *i* (we find *-ij* and *-ijs* instead of *-ii* and *-iis*).
- *y* has been transposed as *i* except in transcriptions of Greek words, where this character originally stands for an *upsilon*.
- *h* has been omitted in the transcription except in words of Greek origin and Latin words in which *h* is generally accepted as the classical spelling.
- The usage of *ae*, *oe*, *ę* and *e* has been normalized according to classical standards.
- I have applied the same rule for *c* and *t* in positions as *-cio/-tio-* and the like.

Changes made according to these principles have not been entered in the *apparatus criticus*.

I have also adapted the punctuation to modern usage. Superfluous capitals have been omitted, and others have been added. Apices and

⁹ Cfr. J. IJsewijn (*Companion to Neo-Latin Studies* (Amsterdam/New York/Oxford, 1977), p. 225: "it does not make sense to slavishly reproduce the orthography of old printings because it is often influenced by the number of letters which could be put on a line and the presence or absence of a certain character in the printer's shop".

accents have not been transcribed (except in Greek writing), since they were not consistently used.

Abbreviations have been written out in full. Most common is the use of the tilde for *-m* and *-n*, or *-q*; for *-que*. The ampersand & and its variants have been fully transcribed as *et*.

Furthermore, I have divided the *Amator ineptus* into twenty-four chapters, varying in length and in number of paragraphs according to the contents. The introductory "letter" is referred to as "prooemium".

Typographical errors, though very few in the original edition, have been entered in the *apparatus criticus*, even if they are corrected in the *Errata* at the end of the text.

The references for all quotations, shown as such by typographical means and mostly consisting of verses, have been entered in the *apparatus fontium*. References for most prose quotations, allusions and reminiscences can be found in the commentary.

3. *The man behind the mask*

Let us now turn to the mysterious author of our satire. We may first have a closer look at his name, *Amatus Fornacius*, which is clearly a pseudonym. "Velato nomine" the writer says in his dedicatory letter (prooem.2). And a bit further: "Patriam non scietis. Nomen Amati commentus sum" (1.1). The satirist has made every possible effort to conceal his identity; even "Palladium", where the booklet is supposedly printed, does not exist!

a. The "lover" and the "beloved"

In the choice of his fictitious name the author has tried to remain within the atmosphere of his writing: *Amatus*, of course, means "beloved". *Fornacius*, a derivation from *fornax*, *-acis* ("oven"), meaning "tiler" or "baker" in Medieval Latin¹⁰, appears to have been chosen for its erotic connotations, suggesting *fornicatio* as well as the heat of the oven. In Giovanni della Casa's *Capitolo del Forno*¹¹, where repeated play is made upon *forno* and all its possible derivations, the act of putting "a bun in the oven" must be vulgarly interpreted as the act of making love.

¹⁰ A. Blaise, *Lexicon Latinitatis Medii Aevi praesertim ad res ecclesiasticas investigandas pertinens. Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs du moyen-âge*, Corpus Christianorum continuatio medievalis (Turnhout, 1975), s.v. "*fornacius*".

¹¹ Giovanni della Casa (1503-1556), *Capitolo del Forno*, in *Le Terze Rime de Messer Giovanni dalla Casa, di Messer Bino et d'altri* ([Venice], per Curtio Navo, et Fratelli, 1538).

What an ironic title page all of this makes! Our “beloved and hot” story-teller is nothing but a “clumsy lover” ...

So far, I have not been able to identify this alleged *Amatus Fornacius* with a real historical person (the eternal needle in the hay stack). It is very unlikely that Fornacius used this pseudonym, as he states, “quia ita placuit” (1.1), just for fun. No, he probably wanted to escape severe censors who were most likely to ban his book, because, in 7.5, for example, the author directs his humour against the papacy. Not to mention the all but edifying and even (soft) erotic tendency of the book.

The writer also used a false name for the person to whom he dedicated his satire: Hippophilus Canusius (“Hoary Horse-Lover”!). A careful analysis, however, of the *Amator ineptus* does provide some clues to locate its mysterious author.

b. French origin

We may assume that Fornacius lived and wrote in the first half of the Seventeenth Century as there are no reasons to doubt the year of publication 1633.

I also believe that Fornacius was fluent in French, probably even a native speaker. Several passages in the *Amator ineptus* lead to that conclusion.

First of all, Fornacius writes in 9.1: “eam Gallice consalutatam”. It is certainly not impossible that this language and the “patrius sermo” (14.1) be the same! The word “Gallice” is used a second time in 15.4 (“Gallice ac Hispanice phaecasiatus et prasinatus”) but designates there a tendency in fashion.

But there is more: some remarkable text fragments corroborate my hypothesis about Fornacius’s native tongue, although I am well aware of the fact that it is not without danger to explain Latin language phenomena by means of a vernacular tongue and vice versa.

The expression *splenem displodere* used in 3.7 (“cum illae pleno cacinno splenem disploderent”) does not occur in Classical Latin. In French, however, we come across the idiom *dilater la rate* (= *faire rire*); *Le Petit Robert* quotes J. Vallès (1832-1885): “J’aime à rire et j’ai la rate qui va en éclater...”¹² This figure of speech certainly existed before the publication of the *Amator* as E. Huguet provides a quotation from the multilingual writer and diplomat Philippe de Marnix (1548-

¹² P. Robert, *Le Petit Robert* ... (Paris, 1981²), s.v. *rate* (2).

1598): “Entre tous ces galans n’y eut un seul qui ... de bonne ratte n’esclatast ... de rire” (*Differens* 1, 4, 9)¹³.

Furthermore, I wish to point out the remarkable use of the word *facilitare* in 7.5 (“*facilitantibus convivium hydraulis*”). It is testified in Medieval Latin “*ante 1350*”¹⁴ but strikes me as a typical French word, into which language it was taken over from the Italian *facilitare* in the fifteenth century¹⁵.

Paragraphs 14.11 to 14.20 tell us how the hero puts his rival Ballio’s proficiency in Latin to the test. The author makes this character look ridiculous by quoting his abominable Latin speech — a speech which the author of course wrote himself. The inferior quality of Ballio’s knowledge of Latin is made clear by some expressions which are or could be literal translations from seventeenth-century French. This technique had been successfully applied in the *Epistulae Obscurorum Virorum*, where the bad Latin of German writers was satirized¹⁶. Paragraph 14.3 will provide some clear examples:

- 14.3 “Me ... comportavi”: je me suis comporté (instead of *se gerere* as in 9.2: “Ego ... ita me gessi, ut ...”).
 “Nihil mihi magis dolorosum est”: rien ne m’est plus douloureux.

Even the word order in this direct speech reminds the attentive reader so strongly of the French language that it may be considered as an indication of the author’s tongue and provenance.

- e.g. 14.14 “Ego hodie fui apud bibliopolam, ubi inveni cantilenas dulces et comoediam facetissimam, et cras ibo cum illis ad eam, et cantabo cantilenam cum ea, et docebo eam canere”.

This phrase can be translated word for word into (modern) French:

Aujourd’hui j’ai été chez le libraire, où j’ai trouvé des cantilènes douces et une comédie tres facétieuse et demain j’irai avec celles-ci chez elle, et je chanterai une cantilène avec elle, et je lui apprendrai à chanter.

¹³ E. Huguet, *Dictionnaire de la langue française du seizième siècle* (Paris, 1965), s.v. *rate* 3.

¹⁴ R.E. Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources* (London, 1965), s.v. *facilito*.

¹⁵ P. Robert, *Le Grand Robert de la langue française. Dictionnaire alphabétique et analogique ...*, 2e édition entièrement revue et enrichie par A. Rey, IV (Paris, 1985).

¹⁶ *Epistulae Obscurorum Virorum* hrsg. v. A. Bömer. Einführung / Text (Aalen, 1978 = Heidelberg, 1924), I, p. 69.

14.15 "Ita nos debemus tractare puellas". Ainsi nous devons traiter les filles.

c. High society

Fornacius must have belonged to the upper class of society, the rich bourgeoisie or even nobility.

His thorough knowledge of Latin, both language and literature, and even of Greek has to be the result of an excellent education, which only the rich could afford. Fornacius also describes the environment of upper class people as from within: there are servants (4.3; 10.13) and people go for a stroll to pass time on a Sunday (20.1). The visits paid to one another (4.1-9.3; 10.2-14; 14.13 *et al.*) and Glycerium's collection of curious and rare objects (19.4-5) also indicate such a social stratum.

I believe the *contubernium* in 4.1 to be some kind of (Parisian?) salon or, as these gatherings were called at the time, "une ruelle" — all the more if we do accept that Fornacius was French. Such social occasions were very fashionable in the 1630s and bourgeois writers started to penetrate these meetings that were once the privilege of the nobility¹⁷.

Another clue as to the location of Fornacius in this "chique" environment is the satirical stress laid upon civilized manners.

e.g. 6.5 "Omnes eam officioso gestu adorant".

9.5 "Ita officiis districtis discessimus".

Amatus Fornacius probably originated from France, and must have been a member of seventeenth-century high society: these are the very meagre but only possible and still important qualities we can ascribe the author of the *Amator ineptus*, as all the other information the writer releases about himself is very vague and general.

4. Fornacius and Apuleianism

To conclude this Introduction to the *Amator ineptus*, I would like to point out that its author belongs to the literary school of Apuleianism¹⁸. Fornacius uses quite a lot of archaisms, and many are terms

¹⁷ Cfr. G. Mongrédien, *La Vie littéraire au XVII^e siècle*, Histoire de la Vie Littéraire (Paris, 1947), pp. 13-34.

¹⁸ The phenomenon of Apuleianism in Neo-Latin literature, especially in Italy, was treated by Claudio Moreschini, "Sulla fama di Apuleio nel Medioevo e nel Rinascimento" in *Studi filologici, letterari e storici in memoria di Guido Favati*, 2 vols., Medioevo e Rinascimento 28-29 (Padova, 1977), II, 457-476, and: John F. D'Amico, "The Progress of

and expressions borrowed from Apuleius and Petronius, as well as from Plautus; Terence was apparently less inspiring.

The clearest example of this tendency is to be found in chapter 8, where the description of Psyche (the name alone!) shows strong influence from Apuleius's *Metamorphoses* (2.2 *et alibi*).

Some Apuleian terms worth mentioning are: 4.3 "scissili amictu" (*met.* 1,6); 5.2 "titubante gradu vacillabam" (*met.* 1,8; 5,25); 7.7 "cantillant" (*met.* 4,8 *et alibi*); 12.3 "affaniis" and 24.3 "afaniae" (*met.* 9,10; 10,10); 13.3 "Iovis cerebro" (*apol.* 39); 15.4 "nugamenta" (*met.* 1,25). All the Apuleian *loci*, as far as I could trace them, can be found in my commentary on the text.

As for Petronius's *Satyricon*, I may quote: "oscillatione" in 4.4 (Petron. 140), "ringentis" in 7.9 (Petron. 75), and a phrase like "Spartanica patientia concoxi", in 7.11, (Petron. 105).

From Plautus Fornacius borrowed the names "Ballio" (14.19; from the *Pseudolus*) and "Saurea" (21.1 *et alibi*; from the *Asinaria*), and a number of more or less proverbial expressions. For these I must, again, refer the reader to my commentary.

Nonetheless, Fornacius's Apuleianism does not limit itself to a mere selection from the writers mentioned above. The author also introduced(?) some new words into the Latin language, mostly regular derivations "in the Apuleian way" from existing words:

- e.g. 7.1 "ineptulus"
- 7.2 "nasutulus"
- 9.9 "glabrities"
- 16.6 "nugivendulus"
- 18.11 "platonizare"

Unusual words like "fortean" (2.1), or "patulicantes" (8.3), both going back to *variae lectiones* in the manuscript tradition, also feature within this literary tendency.

Fornacius's propensity for the rare and *recherché* in general makes the *Amator ineptus* at moments obscure and difficult to understand. But it may just have been the satirist's intention to give his reader the uneasy feeling that the "clumsy lover" is not the only one to be teased.

Renaissance Latin Prose: The Case of Apuleianism", *Renaissance Quarterly*, 37 (1984), 351-392. See now also E. Fumagalli, *Matteo Maria Boiardo volgarizzatore dell'"Asino d'oro". Contributo allo studio della fortuna di Apuleio nell'Umanesimo*. Medioevo e Umanesimo 70 (Padova 1988).

II. TEXT

Amatus Fornacius, *Amator ineptus*. Palladii, MDCXXXIII.

[p. 3]

HIPPOPHILO CANUSIO

Amatus Fornacius S.D.

1. Scriptum tibi non vulgare offero, et forsan sine exemplo. In enarranda laude sua promptos sat plures invenias, at, ut quis sui dedecoris aeternam famam quaerat, id vero perrarum est. 5

2. Nescio qua genii malignitate is sim, cui nihil minus placeat, quam meum, aliena semper stupori sint.

... *Liberius si*

*Dixero quid, si forte iocosius, hoc mihi iuris
cum venia dabis.* 10

Non quod alterius velato nomine existimationem ullo pacto laeserim, sed ut condones, si impegero in vulgatum illud:

[p. 4] ... *nec te culpaveris ipse.*/

3. Malui in me dicere quam aliorum famam publico libello proscindere. Neminem nisi me ipsum noto sub varia larva. Quodsi eodem premantur 15 malo, a me et documentum habeant et exemplum.

4. Nolui ea aliis dicere, quibus tamen ut sibi dictis uti possunt. Nunquam aliena crimina indagare studui neque meam cum aliorum dedecore laudem crescere volui. Nec tamen ea ratio fuit ut maluerim mea vitia mihi approbare. 20

5. Id allaboravi, ut quam ineptus essem scirem, et dicerem, alii quid de meo instituto loquerentur, si facilem apud eos veniam censendi libido negaret, haud moratus.

[p. 5] 6. Vetus sapientia in desuetudinem abiit, rarumque / iam diu fuit, ut de caelo labatur simile quid illi aureo: γνῶθι σεαυτόν. A vetustate ignominiam contraxit illud: 25

*Illi mors gravis incubat,
qui nimis notus omnibus
ignotus moritur sibi.*

7. Adeo si bene rationem ponis, nunc nemo sibi, quam plurimis aliis de meliore nota innotescere studet, ac ventosae plebis suffragia venatur 5
quilibet. Nec facile ea malignitas evelletur, postquam in exemplum ivit iam, et validissimum a quotidiana sibi sumat aemulatione. Ii sibi videntur multi, qui aliis sunt, nec quales sint operam dant, sed quales habeantur.

8. Ego ineptis vitiis cum scaterem, malui me deridendum necessario 10
[p. 6] aliis / exemplo propinare, quam dum mihi applauderem, minutae censurae notam vereri. Cuius si a te veniam mihi non persuadeam, haud caream flagitio.

9. Tuo dicatum nomini hoc — quicquid est — emisi. Sic iussit tua, qua me semper complexus es benevolentia. Memoriam ineptiarum, quas 15
vidisti saepius, refrico. Risimus saepe amica libertate, et inter eos fuimus, quibus singultiente pectore

... parum decoro

Inter verba cadit lingua silentio.

10. Teneriorem ac candidiorem animam, cui ingenuo amore pectus 20
aestuat, lingua friget, scis quam impense semper amaverim et riserim.
[p. 7] Inepto, sic iudicant, / quibus ego meum suffragium debeo, exemplo. Rideas quod ames, id profecto plurimis dementia esse videtur. Tu nosti haec arcana, quae ego propalata tuo ingenio aliis approbare volui.

11. Non fuit opus adversus invidiam impenetrabili scuto. Nunquam 25
tam arduae de meis sensi. Contemtui occurrere volui, ut quae tu sereniori fronte arripes, nec indigna lectu alii iudicarent. Sin secus tamen eveniret, sufficeres mihi unus lector, cuius iudicio et stabo et cadam. Si id a te impetravero, ut scriptioni tanto plus veniae des, quanto minus sudoris ac oneris habuit. 30

Vale. /

[p. 8]

AMATOR

INEPTUS.

1. 1. Patriam non scietis. Nomen Amati commentus sum nullo consilio:
tantum quia ita placuit. Ex iis sum qui febriculosam ac prurientem
suam eruditionem rudi popello ostentant. Satyram scribo, quod solent 5
qui nomen suum nobilitare gaudent.

2. Nil mentiar, ne quis fallatur. Vera dicam expertus, et de me ipso.
Pessimo medius fidius illi exemplo sunt, quibus mendacium admodum
leve. Nullus iocus hic veniam facit. Uni veritati litabo.

3. Nulla tempora aut fastos mundi evolvam. Sat ineptiarum ex me 10
[p. 9] vobis dabo. Egomet mihi non ignosco. Ser-/pens Epidaurius non tam
acutum cernit quam ego mea pervideo mala. Scio me ineptum, nec
muto, nec volo. Quid miramini? Adeo

Velle suum cuique est, nec voto vivitur uno.

4. Vix quemquam vidi qui non avidius audiret Plautinum illud: 15

*Quid est quod homo masculus libentius
videre debeat quam bellam uxorem?*

O mores! O tempora! Ita aedepol ac per Herculem omnes hoc
commune malum insaniunt. Quantum mortalia pectora noctis habent!
Magnum exclamasset: “In rebus inane!”, ni ille qui “stultorum omnia 20
plena” nimis vere dixit, obstitisset.

5. Quid facias hominibus illis? Elleborem quam primum sumant quo et
Chrysippus — si exemplis mage ducuntur — ter mentem puriorem
[p. 10] detergit; aut si emotae malint esse mentis, iu-/beas miseros esse libenter.

6. Nunquam pestilentius sidus iuventutem nostram — o socii, mihi 25
credite — afflavit, nulla Circe nobis incautis pluris stetit, nulla quae
magis abripuit. Unius temporis honestam sapientes dixere avaritiam,
nulla occupatio plus absumsit, nulla peius, nulla ineptius.

*Labitur totas furor in medullas
Igne furtivo populante venas.*

30

Nil placet momento. Iam cursum hostem fugientibus similem imperat; mox non aliter ac Iunonis sacra ferres, testudineo gradiri gradu iubet.

2. 1. Sed quorsum haec pompa? Nimium apte ac severe oblitus fortean meae aetatis, fortunas meas vobis narro. Ut in limpido speculo et vestras et meas non unas ineptias videbitis. 5
2. Vix effracto putamine nucleum extrahere didiceram, cum iam variis
[p. 11] applicitus mira-/bar, qui mortales essent quaeque eos ineptiae agitent. Omnes ea libido mihi versare videbatur, diversa quidem, at pariter ridicula. Pauci mihi esse videbantur, quibus de meliori luto Titan praecordia finxisset ac quos aequus Iupiter amasset et ardens virtus 10 caelo locatura videretur. Ita a teneris sapere datum erat quod nunquam sirit Iupiter, ut seris annis dediscam.
3. Matrem hoc pertritum nobis ad focum narrantem quotiens miratus sum, quod tale erat: secretum ab omni consortio hominum pater puerum cum diu enutrivisset, ubi ad eam venisset aetatem, cui ex aëre 15 sagacissimo odore (sic illa ludebat) percipere datum est an in vicinia puellae sint, in urbem forumque deducit.
4. Miratur ac pavet puer nitentes vittas ac spatiosa vestimenta. Et me
[p. 12] hercule lon-/ge a virili diversus habitus, quem ni stupet insolitus, ne lapis est. Sedula curiositate exquirat quid monstri esset, quas regio illa 20 feras aleret volucresve. Pater anseres esse, quod facile simplici puero persuasum, qui ea forma nunquam sensus imbuerat.
5. Ast secretiori aestu viscera iam calebant. Pavor vento citius abierat. Mirari quidem adhuc at concupiscere protinus. Patrem levi manu pulsare ut sibi talem anserem comparet. 25
6. Docebat eo quam alte is sensus a natura insitus esset. Frigidior ego mirari secretum illum aestum. Quae illa cupido rei ignotae ac nunquam antea visae esset? Quae illa odoris vis ex proximo aëre adventum puellarum praesagiendi?
7. Coepi anxie dubitare anilisne fabula esset, sed matris reverendae 30
[p. 13] autoritas credulitatem movebat. Aetatem tenerio-/rem accuso. Varia tacita aestimatione pensans me futuris annis ultimum solor.

3. 1. Verum ubi statura ingeniumque coepit adolescere, plane me malo astro natum omnes dicebant, adeoque Enthea opus esse, quae me naturali aut daemoniaco fascino exsolveret. Nec diu latui. Adeo virtutem gloria tanquam umbra corpus sequitur.
2. Ubi primum heroica natura mea percubuit — quanquam haud manifestis documentis (didiceram enim illud magnificum ac animi excelsi argumentum: *Paucissima Molieris. Omnium Spectator Eris. Pauca Laudabis.*) —, mirati homines ac me suspiciosissimis vultibus intui sunt. Exinde ego avium maxima formido. 5
3. Vultum naturalis decor nec aversa gravitas honestabant. Sub herba [p. 14] latere anguem ideo non pau-/cae, ac astutam vulpem sub vapido pectore servari putabant neque verisimile credebant in non male composito corpore tam invenustam animam locatam. 10
4. Illae, ubi avertissem oculos, curiose lustrabant, quemcumque nutum acutissime observantes; simul ac radios in eas defixissem, demissis terram premebant oculis. Ita benevolentia ac pudore diversis impulsoribus in varia agebantur. 15
5. Ego, cum incaute in aliquam incidebam, quae me rursus aspectu constantiori notaret
- Demitto auriculas, ut iniquae mentis asellus* 20
Cum gravius dorso subiit onus. ...
- Ex quocumque aspectu me iudicari aestimabam, formam, decus, gratiam appeti.
6. In medium aliquid allaturus, quam citissima voce absolvebam, ubi [p. 15] maxime quod ad rem erat narrandum, desi-/stens ut expectantium ora hiantia eluderem et quidem quantulumcunque erat, supercilioso vultu, caperata fronte ac naso in rugas contracto. Risum non aliter ac summum scelus execrabar. Citius ex pumice aquam eliciissem. 25
7. Cum illae pleno cachinno splenem disploderent, argumentum id irrisionis ratus, tam limis torvisque quamque oculis intuebar, ut ne Cato quidem unquam severioribus usus sit, cum in curia flagitiosissima quaeque detestaretur. Iis artibus usus quantum mei desiderium excita-
- 30

rim, quid attinet dicere? Igitur non nisi coactus conscientia rusticitatis pavidus consortio earum utebar.

8. Ubi sermonis cum illis conferendi certum erat periculum, inani ac vaga mente per cubiculum differebar, nunc scabellum terebam, nunc
 [p. 16] pavimentum, nunc quid de-/clamaturus, quibus gesticulationibus usus 5
 essem experiebar. Ita difficillimum in primis est et proelio strenuum esse et bonum consilio. Adeo priusquam incipias consulto opus iudicabam, ne aut temeritas periculum aut inconsiderantia damnum traheret.
4. 1. Sacramento a quadam ut in contubernium venirem, maligna fortuna adactus sum. Aegre post multa ultro citroque iactata evicit. 10
2. Dicta die me adorno, quod non ineleganter, ubi operam dabam, praestabat ingenita norma ac concinnitatis studium. Plurima mente verso quae usui futura erant. Nam et subinde poenitentia brevis antea vitae subibat, quam altera tamen citius corripiebam; sed nescio
 quo sidere tum altius impetus pectori insederat. Igitur omnibus compo- 15
 [p. 17] sitis palliastro latus circumdo, vix occur-/rente rerum, quas sudans metueram semper, umbrosa imagine.
3. Audacius ferrum ostio illido resonantiori impetu. Scissili amictu vestita ancilla intromittit, non uno foetore ingrata; et pulvis marcidus lixiviumque graveolens eam macularant. Expurgandis sordibus inten- 20
 tam se excusabat. Ocius ea deserta ad cubiculum pergo.
4. Ea ex gradibus occurrit, quae antea invitarat. Ad laetitiam composito vultu, amica extensa manu, quam pressi, in amplexus ruere minabatur. Rubeo me pudore suffuderat tam audaculum puellae factum, non tam novitate rei attonitus, quam ne ea timidiorum animum liberiori 25
 occursu commasculare vellet, sollicitus. Punicantem faciem tremulus ori illido, ac oscillatione non aviditate plura dabam oscula.
- [p. 18] 5. Illa ad curanda abiit,/ cum ego in gradibus subsisto paululum spiritum fovens, qui paene tam ancipiti proelio extinctus erat. Adventantis cuiuspiam sonitus aures quatit, quo ego adactus pergo. 30
5. 1. Semipatulam ianuam dimoveo. Plures se conglobatae offerunt. Quatuor duobus gaudebant iuvenibus qui non invenuste, ut ora manusque suadebant, blandiebantur.
2. Pavimentum nullum virgultum, nulla tessellarum scabritudo aspera-

verat. Tam titubante tamen gradu vacillabam, ut paene corpus resupinarem. Post aliquam volutationem erectus modestoque exceptus risu accedo. Obticescunt omnes.

Obstupui steteruntque comae et vox faucibus haesit.

Eram non mutus: ubi disertior vagabatur lingua, quae undiquaque
[p. 19] varia expromens dabat aliquando materiam, de qua quae-/dam interfarrer. 5

3. Cum primus ordiri cogebar, nunquam me magis ridicule dabam. Iam oculi osque quid promittunt, mox aetatis, quae minor erat, consideratione veniam mihi fingo, rursus alia incessit cogitatio, solennene esset, 10
ut quis primum accedens eas ad verba sollicitaret. Iis tempus tero, cum iam paenitentia ducebar tacitusque rusticum pudorem meum incusabam.

4. Tam diu siluisse dolebam. Rumpo claustra ac liberrimo, ut mihi videbatur, ore quaedam deblatero. Iam et illos illasque incenderam, 15
cum illi iunctim mutuis sermonibus incalent ferventque. Me veternus paulatim invasit altumque silentium sopivit. Non animadverterant tam voluptuarie sibi invicem intenti.

5. Mox una placide me simul gaudere iussit. Suevico gelu rigidius non
[p. 20] stetit unquam mare,/ ut tunc mea asperata frons. Aegre a me monitionem habitam iam senserat illa astutissimae mentis. Manum sociae 20
suspiciose mulcet; postquam tacitae garrulis oculis colluserant, me fastidiose intuentur.

6. 1. Temni ab illis me facile videbam. Non eo tamen ictu concutiebar; imo ne movebar quidem. Ita me Stoa suis praeceptis instruxerat: 25
taciturnam sapientiam contemptui vulgo esse. Nunquam ambitioni sacramentum dixisse sapientem, neque eius esse ex iudiciis quorumlibet laetitiae dolorisve causam capere. Variam et semper mutabilem feminam, omne fluctu magis mobile profanum vulgus esse: non secus ac
insecta, quae ubi horrida tempestate caelum detonat, ac grandine tellus 30
pulsa concrepitat, paene ipso visu audituque emoriuntur; ubi lenior
[p. 21] imber aeri incubuit ce-/leri volatu ad latebras confugiunt; rursus mox,

22 garrulis: gerrulis A (cfr. 12.3: garrulus Asiaticus et 20.3: garrulis irascebar).

4 Verg. Aen. 2,774 = 3,48

ubi suavior sol affulsit, omnia molestissimo murmure ac susurro implent.

2. His me facile firmabam, cum non saepius ictus repetebatur. Hoc si fieret, invitum me trahebat infamiae metus, quo concitum pectus cerebrumque sanguinem salienti impetu eiaculabantur, quo ingenuam alias frontem foedabant. 5

3. Non repressae increpatoria voce ulterius quid audent. Ita non propria virtute sed alieno timore secunda plurimis gliscit audacia. Me scommatis loquaculae defricant ac iam de fama mea, si per illas stetisset, conclamatum erat. 10

4. Continua ebullitione iniquissimi pudoris fluentum undabat, neque colligendi neque repetendi quid ex meis Stoicis spatium dabat. Omnis [p. 22] evanuerat tam mascula mea Philosophia, et me bea-/tum praedicasset, si ex eo periculo me Apollo aliquis servasset, cum hoc miserante fortuna mei doloris levamentum accidit. 15

5. Virgunculae nares molestus vapor titillabat, quem magno nisu ac ingenti sternutatione excussit. Omnes officioso gestu eam adorant, salutem imprecantur.

7. 1. Ego summe, ut et alias, mirabar quae eos superstitio impelleret, cum ex alta tum forte memoria disco exortum fuisse (ut vulgo narrant) aliquando malignum sternutationi sidus, ex eaque repente exanimes concidisse. Inde ortam consuetudinem non levi coniectura augurabar, eoque tempore (ut sapientissimi semper maiores sunt) non factam sed futuram sternutationem salute conditam; idque postea a timidissimis mulierculis ineptulisque in perpetuum exemplum praepostere tractum. 25

[p. 23] 2. Alii/ iam integumentum capiti minabantur, cum et ego pilei allevatione benevolum affectum testor, maxime ne nasutulis illis ansam exagitandi darem.

3. Confestim (ita finis alterius mali gradus est futuri) alia quae in curvaturam superius corpus flexerat, ut delapsus sudariolum resumeret, quam procacissime distentis natibus pepedit. Iam manum pileo admoveram augustam salutem dicturus, dixissemque, ni meus mos recenti memoria mentem pulsasset, quo nunquam nisi exemplo quid 30

agebam. Ita tutius sequi semper quam praeire, nec imprudenter putabam.

4. Ceteri demissis oculis pavimenti pulveres ad calculum vocare videbantur. Idem ego, postquam conspexi, agebam, non minus interim liberrimis meis cogitationibus indulgens. Mirabar quae ista vesania
[p. 24] esset, sternu-/tantem puellam amicissimo beatam vultu cum salute
dimittere, ast cum fragor ex postico exstitit, faciem puellae timere, nil
felix optare.

5. Scilicet in rugas contractissima frons aspectu iucunda est. Verum ubi opportuna vestis laetitiam faciei textit, pavementum legendum est. Scilicet et iam sternutatione homines enecantur, qua facta nemo se non optatiorem sensit. Et minus periculi in crepitibus est, cui si fidem habent, nil dicam; sed ad ischiadicos colicosque eos ablegabo, qui et convivas non facilitantibus convivium hydraulis ea musica oblectant. Nimirum id Sanctissimi Patris Papae decreto concessum, in ipsa hoc
15 mensa ut liberum sit; monachum enim is letalis casus afflixit.

6. Ea fortuna liberor. Magis muta quam piscis erat; ipsa enim pepederat, quae me atrocius/ vexarat. In aliud igitur argumentum delapsi minus explicatis ac serenis agebant vultibus. Vigeabant supra omnes tum mea lingua et animus. Communis sors ac languor me animabant; non
[p. 25] aliter ac succumbens hosti deficienti animose insultabam.

7. Pristinus actutum rediit vigor meque dubitare iussit num ex composito ea acta essent. Adeo

Par levibus ventis nigroque simillima somno

caerulea ea nubes diffugerat umbraque recesserat. Eadem laetitia redit
non aliter quam ubi Aurora croceo vultu subit ac matutinus Titan
summa lustrat montium, cantillant volucres ac volucris pede tremulos
ramos quatiunt. Eo me magis linquebat, quo illis redibat animus.

8. Miseratus meam sortem duorum unus me cubiculo excedentem ut
[p. 26] vesicam exone-/rare (nam ea parte eique adversa angebar maxime),
insequitur ac me vultu summam misericordiam simulante intuens liberius pro aetate (nam provectionis erat) affatur:

9. “Mi homo! Nescis miseriam tuam... Anxie infelix es, quem metus districti oris ac ringentis nasi macerat. Nescio quid metuas. Cum metuis, audent illae; ubi tu audes, illae metuunt. Animum advorte, ubi agas. Nemo non impudentissimus eas optatissime habuit. Nil ineptius quam apud inverecundos latrones pudore teneri. Is hominum pravus 5
genius est. Omne imbecille invisum et quibus maximus metus, maximum periculum est; audacia pro muro habetur.

10. Si tibi verba mea virtutem non addunt, addat res et opportunitas, [p. 27] aut abi. Famam tuam ego non emerim vel vitio-/sa nuce. Putidus fungus es, nisi te sustuleris. Age te digna, illis grata, ac nobiscum lude”. 10

11. Dixerat sat pro imperio, quod quamvis valide aversarer, tamen me periculum et ipsa rei asperitas aliter monebant, Spartanica patientia concoxi. O Numen caelitesque, quam durum est bonae menti saeculi infamia notari et hominum streperis criminationibus perstringi.

12. Torpentem aliquatenus excitarat. Imus una repetitoque cubiculo 15
assedimus. Et vix, cum modesto impulsu ianua exsilit.

8. 1. Infert pedem virgo moratissimi ac nitidissimi vultus, quae vel blenno apertum fecisset, quam verum illud esset:

gratior est pulchro veniens e corpore virtus.

Dubitasses utrum gratiosae gravitatis an pulchritudinis in ea expolienda [p. 28] natura maiorem ratio-/nem habuisset. 20

2. Vix ausim eam describere. Quicquid dixero, minus erit. Ipsa Psyche, Veneris ambitiosa invidia ac Cupidinis procacissimo amore dignissima, nympa, dea, Diana, Venus erat. Quod si Zeuxis tempore exstisset, una exemplari perfectissimo suffecisset. Planissime ipsa Invidia, si vel- 25
let, non posset in eam dicere.

3. Oculi erant nigricantes, aquilini, vigiles. Non sidera vividior splendore vibrant. Non eminentes, non depressi, non parvi; ceterum ad exactam amussim facti nec patulicantes admodum nec conniventes.

4. Nares paululum inflexae; argutus nasus, quem neque tuber allevaverat 30
neque concavitas depresserat. Os Venereum. Labia sanguinea. Dentes [p. 29] albicantes, ebore nitidiores, in ordinem affabre / dispositi. Roseae genae, quas omnis fucus foedasset.

5. Supercilia distinctissima. Porrecta frons, quam nullae rugae sulcabant. Capillitium flavum nec affectatum, crispum; orbem capiti contorta volumina fecerant, ut emicantes radii soli.
6. Cervix nec rigida nec praeter decorum annuens, cum mento reliquaue cute marmori suo albore contemptum faciebat. Pectus bicipiti 5
colle turgidum, Musis ac Apolline dignum.
7. Manus scitae, longiusculae, nitidulae, candidae, quas venae interspersae tenuibus ramis iucundo viso animabant. Ungues extuberantes.
8. Inenormi erat proceritate, quae succulenta gracilitate commendabatur. 10
Inde speciosus et immeditatus incessus. Omni gratiarum choro stipata erat. Nec forma solum ea erat sed, ut postea comperi, moribus ludicra
[p. 30] prorsus-/que argutula, oratione vinnula venustulaque, vocem argutissimis manibus supra invidiam adgubernabat. Omnia intensissimi voti desiderium exsuperabant. Protinus hoc votum humanae fragilitatis 15
memor nuncupavi, ut intemerata ac inviolata haec caelites praestarent.
9. 1. Eam Gallice consalutatam, ubi assedit, repetita acriter acie perlustro ac digna sane videbatur, quae meum amorem promereretur. Et profecto haec demum magnes fuit, quae tardissimum ferrum traxit.
2. Varia exin promimus oblectamenta. Ego ad eius conspectum ita me 20
gessi, ut sine dedecore essem. Saepius in se visum et admirationem meam trahebat quam dum suaviter renidet, ad satiem meam fovebat. Id in summis votis iam erat, ut soli loquerer.
- [p. 31] 3. Ubi discessus paratur, faventibus ceteris, supra / meritum meum existimationemque mihi ea, ut salvam deducerem, demandatur.
4. Diei iam vesper erat magisque occiduus sol tenebris obstabat quam 25
lucem ingerebat. Prolectante aëris suavitate domus viciniam spernimus. Per plateas digressi longiore circuitu, desertas aedes communiore sermone occupati repetimus. Saepius mens linguam sollicitabat, quo futurae amicitiae fundamenta iaceret, quam mox impetus recursantis animi ligabat praepediebatque ne varium pectus unum tam mendaciter 30
effutiret.
5. Cum ad aedes substitimus, tum serio eam rem agere suadebat

opportunitas; sed repressit fluitantis animi metus, qui linguam paralyti percussit. Id aegre impetravi ut liceret semel non fastidito ei esse [p. 32] sodalitis vesperamque dixi qua redirem. Ita officiis di-/strictis discessimus.

6. Vix pedem promoveram, cum me sera et acerbissima capit paenitentia tam temere dimissae occasionis meamque segnitiam non segnis proscindo; me esse eum hominem tam duro ingenio, tam obeso pectore, qui, ubi quicquam occasionis sit, non sibi tamen faciat bene, indignor. 5

7. Vix aberat quin pede relato eam audaci voce excivissem, quo desiderio satisfacerem. Adeo tum demum stultissimi mortales nostra intelligimus bona, cum quae in potestate habuimus, ea amisimus. Ilico crebra experientia edoctus me tales ineptias cum multis versare recolo, ut quo a discrimine absim magis, eo superbius secunda sit audacia; non aliter ac Homericus canis abeuntem Fortunam latrat, accedentis specie expavescit. 10

[p. 33] 8. Ceterum occultus leviter me / carpebat ignis, quem aestu spontaneo alebam. Haeserat iam penitus cerebro ea imago, quae ne dilaberetur iugibus agebam cogitationibus. Distortus penitus eram, ita animum crebriter ea specie pulsante, quae in ceteris studium mutilabat. 15

9. Nec ea cura cubantem deseruit. Nunc quid actum esset ipso die, quibus illa modis esset gesticulata, singula verba rumino; nunc glabrities et plumea mollities manus, qua eam deduxeram, afficit ceteraque omnia molestissima insomnia divexant. 20

10. Aegrius tandem somno correpto eadem umbrae obvolitant. Una ea erat quae et initium et fabulae catastropham faciebat. Adeo

In noctis spatio miserorum vulnera durant 25
Et canis in somnis leporis vestigia latrat.

10. 1. Unam illam vesperam vigil anhe-/lo, cuius me meditatio puro ac [p. 34] candido perfundebat gaudio, quod quo propius tempus accedebat, metus caligine magis turbabatur. Iamque imminuto gaudio ubi hora propior erat, anxietas obtinebat ac me paenitentiae inconstanter paenitebat voluissimque me nunquam eo promisso obstrictum. Adeo Veneri exsolvere vota arduum semper erat magisque eam meticulosam rem arbitrabar quam ad iudicem ire. 30

2. Diei iam extremum erat. Diu multumque varia agitans tandem prorepto ac ad domum meae Psyches pervenio, quae amplexantibus se invicem brachiis fulcro innitens praestolabatur. Salutata me per angustum meatum in secreta domus perducit pavidum ac gressu titubantem.

[p. 35] Sermocinaturus pallui non aliter /

ac Lugdunensem rhetor dicturus ad aram.

3. Non diu collocutum, sive quod inertiam meae linguae animadverteret sive ipsa eo ludo gauderet, ad tessellas invitat. Me annuente lusimus aliquantum fortuna et victoria varia. Pertaesi torpedinem divaricatis brachiis discussimus.

4. Tum ego omni metu cunctationeque profligatis specie inusitata illectus, magnis etiam excidisse ausubus praeclarum ducens audeo quid et supra animum viresque et — quod mirere — supra fortunam. Lateri applicitus luctantibus inter graves anhelitus verbis eam demulceo. Facetissima comitate invitatum animabat.

5. Audacula loquacitate commodum me detinebat, qui nunquam laetiori animo agebam quam ubi lingua agilis longi temporis morae [p. 36] fastidium falleret. / Ergo familiarioris sermonis iungimur amoenitate.

6. Illectus ea affabilitate, cui comitem unionis amorem didiceram, primum manum meam argutis digitis transverso ligamine implico. Mox rariore candore captus iis suavius figo ac — dictum factum — labra ad os applico, nec renuentem spissius basio.

7. Ex eo cor amoris igne exarsit. Adeo palpitantia nutabant membra; tremore pectus rapido quatiebar; streperis singultibus arctatae fauces aërem hauriebant; vox sensusque paene defecerant, ad nil aliud restantes nisi ut me miserum esse persentiscerem.

8. Deliquium animi praesens minabatur, ni mea lux continuo fulgore irradiasset mentisque caliginem aspulisset membraque firmasset. Tacitus eam contemplabar.

[p. 37] *Illa solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat; /*

nec magis movebatur

quam lentae salices lassove papavera collo.

9. Nullam notam pudoris video qui in argumentum amoris trahi vulgo solet. Ubi animalis calor redibat mihique redditus eram, silenti obtutu me avide lustratum audacter rogat quae me eclipsis habuisset. Frequensne hoc esset aut mali morbi indicium? Omnia in sinistram partem rapiebat.

5

10. Non dissimulavi malum. Quae secretum pectus alebat, in sinum effundo solertissime oculos puellae observans, si quod mutationis indicium animadverterem. Constantissime vultui imperitavit meque ab omni suspicione undiquaque prohibuit. Quia nil oculi loquebantur, intentus vocem expectabam. Nec satisfecit voto nec repulit. Id unum agebat, ut me magis dubiis rebus maceraret.

10

[p. 38] 11. Hoc colligebam / facile ancipitis fortunae aleam ulterius tentandam esse. Quapropter statui certamen experiri; neque me nugacissimis illis annumerari volui, qui quod in certamine dubium est, quorsum accidat, id per inertiam in se quasi victi recipiunt. Adversa certaminis potiora duxi quam omnino in tanti periculi aestu ac ingentis commodi spe non certavisse. Ea cogitatio me aliquoties impediabat unde tam subito ea masculae fortitudinis praecepta instigarent.

15

12. Dissipavi eam ocus ne invalescente retrogradi necesse esset. Prorsus neque animus negotio neque repentinis decretis labos deerat. Arctius amplexibus illigatam suaviis distero, ad quorum singula mellitis dictis pectus puellae sollicito. Illa dum

20

[p. 39] ... *detorquet ad oscula*
 cervicem, aut facili saevitia negat, /
 quae poscente magis gaudeat eripi.
 Interdum rapere occupet.

25

13. Me haud vanam inclinati animi spem concipere coegit, cum importuna ancilla laxata ianua, quae si per me stetisset, non ipsam admisisset Fortunam, tempus admonuit.

14. Nec diu morata, severum patris imperium excusans, surrexit meque

30

26 hic versus non ut priores inclinatis litterarum formis, at typis Romanis excusus, etiam dispositione typographica ab iis in A disiunctus est.

27 inclinati in corrigendis pro inclinanti A

23-26 Hor. *carm.* 2,12,25-28

per eandem viam dimisit. Ira amoreque turbidus officio, ubi discesseram, non litaveram. Ita me et acta et furor et quae cogitabam abripuerant.

11. 1. Eo pacto aliquoties deinceps convenimus saepiusque amorem concito pectore testatus sum. Temporaneis eam duci affectibus didici. Blandienti nutu, gestibus, basiis obblandiebatur. 5
2. Non poteram induci ut eum animum, qui talia ostenderet, non facile [p. 40] in partes pertrahi crederem. Vicit tamen iterata / saepius experientia.
3. Ubi de sinceri amoris addictione exquirebam, asperior erat foediorque vultus naturalem vitiabat honestatem. Eapropter varius, iam magnanimitate contemptum suadente, quae semper sequiorem illum 10 sexum despexerat, iam in contrarium stimulante amore, comperi tandem duos me rivales habere ambitoresque puellae strenuos.
4. Ego speciosissima illa forma ducebar quidem; sed nec animus eam ad nuptias vocandi erat, et erat: non diverso id tempore, sed uno penitus momento. Ea oris suavitas venustasque mihi voluptatem faciebat 15 expetendam ardentissime. Simulque naturalis solitudinis amor quodque laboris diligentiam nunquam inaniis terendam ducebam, me avocabant.
- [p. 41] Mixto eo affectu ducebar semper adeoque quicquid in iis agebam, / non agebam.
5. Pleraque in ore, quae tamen a corde, non in corde oriebantur dicta. 20 Quem si non capitis forsitan affectum, referatur sane ad occultas qualitates, quas ut "ignorantiae asylum" quidam nequicquam traduxere. Nec mihi verba rei paria sufficiunt, quibus delineem, nec vobis quotquot lectores estis, si coram non videtis, ratio reddi potest. Miramini adhuc me ineptum amatorem? 25
6. Quanquam haec ita essent, volui tamen adhuc aliqua voluptate perfrui pernoscereque siquis posthac mutarer, duo illine mihi obstaculo futuri essent, et an nunc voluptati detraherent. Ingenium ergo et mores indagare studui.
12. 1. Liberali ambo erant facie neque multum abludebant incessus, gestus, 30 vox; ideoque haud magnum ex extimis illis discrimen. At immane [p. 42] quantum / reperi, ubi me altius insinuavi!
2. Non a pipere muscerda magis distat. Plane ille piper — aut si mavis:

cinnamomum — erat, hic muscerda, olidum, fetidum, rancidum, grandisonans vas. “Loquere, ut te videam”, aiebat silenti iuveni Socrates. Plane non aliter me hoc vos edocere posse arbitatus sum quam si sermones eorum vobis commemorarem.

3. Tribus verbis vultis? Ille modeste, graviter, acute loquebatur, hic 5
garrulus Asiaticus erat, incompositus, mire sibi in affaniis suis placens. Si perrexero, neque instituto aberrabo neque vestrae, ut arbitror, voluptati deero.

4. Nullis inhorruerat caelum nubibus, cum aëris serenitate captus 10
ambulacrum extra urbem peto, in quo ab utroque latere altis populis cingebar. Occurrit ille quem in deliciis habebam.

13. 1. Modica ac brevissima sa-/lutatione perfunctus ipse illicet pratorum
[p. 43] amoenitatem, aëris suavitatem, volucrum cantum ceteraque sermonis argumentum facit. Dubitasses magisne res illae virides, suaves, canorae quam oratio eius esset. Unice eum exosculabar. Decurrebat non rapidi 15
fluenti instar nec canceri erat tarditate sed attemperata rebus dictione utebatur.

2. Laxior ac largior placuit deambulatio. Postquam aliquantum proces-
simus, collis obstitit. Quo ex sententia superato in imam vallem descen-
dimus. Undique plana graminis facies acclivis eam cingeat; nulla erant 20
virgulta, nullae sentes vepresque. Liber prospectus in caelum ferebatur.

3. Variis nos invicem demulsimus sermonibus. De pace, de bello (nam
de iis tum patria nostra deliberabat) plane Sallustiane dicebat; de
[p. 44] studiis opti-/me disserebat, de eloquentia Ciceroniane; in argutis acumi-
nibus Senecam exprimebat; in historiis Curtius erat; lata anguste, 25
angusta late, vulgata decenter, nova usitate, usitata nove proferebat; extenuabat magna; maxima e minimis efficiebat. Mirabar sermonem saporis non publici. Videbam eum esse, qui vere bonam mentem amaret. Singulis dictis ac Iovis cerebro inhiabam.

4. Id restabat ut quid de amatoriis sentiret, investigarem. Mirari sae- 30
pius subibat qui in tam augustum animum humiliores illae amoris curae et nugae caderent, ni etiam ille nec calidus nec frigidus esset. Attonitus igitur interrogatione mea, cui miscueram et ab ipso in iis operam navari, sic fere inquit:

5. "Pessimus is nostrae urbis mos est: non adeas puellam, quin omnes
[p. 45] te eam ambire clament, neque / adeas, quin omnes et pueri et anus et
quotquot a furno puteoque redeunt, sciant. Quisque aliena, non sua
tractat et — quod mirere — saepe puella non tam suos quam aliarum
procos miratur. 5
6. Me — non diffiteor — ad officium traxit unica illa Psyche quam, si
homines noluerint, dii deaque mirabuntur et invidebunt. Nec patiar
tamen ut illa dulcibus ante omnia Musis praevaleat. Amo eam ut non
amem. Utendum rebus illis, non fruendum scio.
7. Magis me Palladi quam Veneri devovi; quam eiurassem etiam, ni 10
Aristotelem, Platonem, qui sapientiae, si non normae, numina certe
sunt, improvida, si non falsa, posteritas, et quae incaute saepe magno-
rum apud secuturos virorum nomen imminuit, amasiis suis sacrificasse
easque versibus placasse prodidisset.
- [p. 46] 8. Nunquam tamen tam malignum / mihi fatum sit, ut hoc cogitem. 15
Nunquam non catarrhus fluit, ubi nugas illius etiam video, qui illud
exordium suo operi nimis fatue posuit:
*Si quis in hoc artem populo non novit amandi,
Me legat et lecto carmine doctus amet.*
9. Nimirum si quis, hic est qui stultam clementiam putavit, 20
*... cum tot ubique
Vatibus occurras, periturae parcere chartae,*
quae sane illa praecepta dedit: aut quae nemo stupidissimus etiam ante
pueritiam non ignoravit aut quae nullus verae elegantiae studiosus non
deridiculo habeat aut excretur. 25
10. Quam sapienter!
*Quis sapiens blandis non misceat oscula verbis?
[p. 47] Illa licet non det, non data sume tamen,/
Tantum ne noceant teneris male rapta labellis,
Neve queri possit dura fuisse, cave.* 30
- Sapiens ei est qui hoc praestiterit, at ne insipiens quidem, me arbitrate,
qui non fecerit.

11. Quam frivolum illud!

*Fac primus rapias illius tacta labellis
 Pocula, quaque bibit parte puella, bibas,
 Et quemcunque cibum digitis libaverit illa
 Tu pete dumque petes, sit tibi tacta manus.*

5

Quam spirat virtutem illud!

[p. 48] *Atque aliqua ex illis, dum regum nomina quaeret,
 Quae loca, qui montes, quaeve ferantur aquae,
 Omnia responde nec tantum si qua rogabit,/
 Et quae nescieris, ut bene nota refer.*

10

Quid ineptius illo?

*Arguit: arguito; quicquid probet illa, probato.
 Quod dicit, dicas; quod negat illa, neges.
 Riserit: arride; si flerit, flere memento.
 Imponat leges vultibus illa tuis.*

15

12. Simia, polypus, chamaeleon, Proteus eris: aut ubi hic optimi viri constantia aut ubi iudicii libertas. Hinc illud quam ridiculum in ipso etiam coniugio puerum totis Athenis imperitare. Ille matri dabat. Pater a matre imperium expectabat. Ita te illa vincula constringent”.

13. Intelligenti iam abunde dixerat. Nullum ab eo mihi periculum 20
 creari videbam nec verebar ut hic acceptior me esset. Invidebam altius
 [p. 49] ire eum quam ego niti possem. Exemplar / mihi eum proposui quod
 aemularer, si imitari non liceret.

14. 1. Eadem fortuna fere mihi alter comes factus est. Portae vicino, qua
 ad medium campum pergebam, ex improvise occurrit. Severiorem 25
 ingenti molimine adoritur. Passibus amplius decem aberat, capite iam
 nudo erat, gesticulante pileo, pede silices atterente.

2. Omnia mimicae ineptiae erant. Per quadrantem horae fere substiti-
 mus disceptantes quis prior caput tegetet. Nam amplioris fortunae cum
 esset, eas nugas invito extorquebat. Riserunt nos omnes ac ego iam 30

sudore madidus paene omnibus pudibunda fabula fuissem. Cessit tandem.

3. Vix verbo facto comitem se mihi deambulationis offert; quem si ad Sauromatas profligare potuissem, ocius fecissem. Non ausus tamen fui
[p. 50] renuere, ne morosior haberer. Ibi / nova lis incidit: quis honoratiorem 5
esset occupaturus locum. Nunquam cessurus videbatur; tam praefracte renitebatur. Nitebar omni conatu incautusque pedem paene eius distri-
veram.

4. Iam impar deambulationi mihi videbar praesentemque locum lassis
membris solacio arripuissem, si licuisset. Quam saepe 10

... *O te, Bollane, cerebri*

Felicem aiebam tacitus! ...

Ex eo facile videbam alias de facie et leviter tantum notum esse eum
hominem,

Quem tu cervus uti vallis in altera 15

Visum parte lupum, graminis immemor,

Sublimi fugies mollis anhelitu.

5. Demissis manibus grandique gradu fugere iussit tales omnes nona-
[p. 51] ginta novem annorum senex, si quis febre carere volet. Totus is / erat,
qui et tacere ingens piaculum ducebat et omnia vitio sordidae mentis 20
admirabatur aliorumque animos ex suo metiebatur: quo ipse gaudebat,
eodem alios diduci debere putabat. Nisi risisses, ubi quamlibet laciniam
aut stercus quodvis in gyros tornatum ridebat, indignabundus erat.

6. Protinus ac nos in viam coniecimus, nilne novi haberem, rogat.
Negare ego. Mox se bellissimam fabulam recitaturum promittit, quae 25
proxima nocte in popina accidisset. Periculum esse adiicit, ne medius
crepem. Iamque ad subsidium lateris manum adduco, ilia firmaturus, si
nimio flatu periculose distenderentur avidusque nil aliud cogito quam:

Quid dignum tanto feret hic promissor hiatu?

[p. 52] 7. Spississimum ex fulgore fumum dedit, historiam ne tonsore aut / 30
fullone aut ulla anicula indignam, cuius argumento neque dicentis
concinntas quod ex re deerat ullo pacto adiicit. Incompte, foede,
insulse, inepte, nugaciter eam omnem exequabatur.

8. Vix absolverat, cum meum iudicium in consensum rapere nitebatur. Variis festivitatis elogiis adiectis, quid mihi videretur, petebat. Ita sibi mire placebat gaudebatque me eodem gaudio beatum. Omnino ei similis erat, qui cum, ut opinabatur, ad summam misericordiam animum, dicta, voces gestusque composuisset, dicta oratione rogat num
5 valide affectum misericordiae civisset. “Imo, athleticè”, ait alter, “nam omnes nos miseret tui”. Ita me ad risum pellexerat nugacissimus ille bipedum.

9. Nec mora: ubi pater, ubi mater essent, exquirat, mox quid soror
[p. 53] ageret, quid ceteri in nostris aedibus. Vix Laconicum / responsum tulit. 10 Mox somnium hesternum narrat: fuerat autem de Psyche. Dein quotus dies mensis esset, quaerit. Inde ad Kalendas et Idus Romanorum devolvitur. De ineptiis astrologorum ipse ineptissimus ineptissime disse-
rit. Mox patrem suum die xv mensis Castalium abiturum. Iam de arctis calceis suis conqueritur. Sutorem increpat; narrat quam saepe in eo 15 peccet, nolle se nisi ex Hispanico corio calceos, et eiusdem farinae quam plurima.

10. Iam mihi quamvis ambulanti paene somnum induxerat, ut loqua-
culae officiosae vagis et inquietis pueris solent. Citissimus haec coacer-
vabat, ita ut quamvis voluissem quaedam interfari, non quivissem. 20 Cogitantem enim de re quam protulerat ac quid sermonis adornantem
[p. 54] iam alio genere me onerabat. Ita cogitationem cogitatio enecat ac sen-
sim demtis omnibus auditorem tacitum ago.

11. Haec omnia patrio sermone debacchatus fuerat. Statuo periclitari
quid in Latino posset, in eodemne tam volubili lingua esset. An placeret 25 Latine agere petenti “Quam libentissime!” respondit laetus, ut mihi videbatur, oblata opportunitate qua eruditionem ac facundiam suam exereret.

12. At dii boni! Qualis oratio! Stupet admiratio; nil praefabor. Eam —
quantum fragili haesit memoriae — expromam. Obieceram ei amorem 30 Psyche, quem ille libentissime et fastuose salienti supercilio fassus est et in huiusmodi modum non indocto vultu disseruit:

13. “Psychen unicam habeo amasiam ac ita me semper comportavi ut
amorem eius meritis sim. Quotidie ego per plateam curro ubi illa
[p. 55] habitat. Si in fenestra iacet aut / ante domum stat, eam officiose saluto. 35 Nihil mihi magis dolorosum est quam quod ante aliquot dies, cum

voluisset me ad se venire, quartam horae partem serius veni; cum ego venero ad ipsam, oportet me hoc suavis verbis lenire: ne hoc aegre ferat ac propterea me reiiciat.

14. Ego hodie fui apud bibliopolam, ubi inveni cantilenas dulces et comoediam facetissimam, et cras ibo cum illis ad eam, et cantabo cantilenam cum ea, et docebo eam canere. Non dubito: ubi una facetias comoediae audivit, mihi duo basia dabit. 5

15. Ita nos debemus tractare puellas et sic nos docuit magister noster:

*Si vox est, canta; si mollia brachia, salta
Et quacunque potes dote placere, place.*

10

16. Haec ego magis calleo, quam aprugnum callum callet. Sat ego sem-
[p. 56] /per verborum habeo, quibus tempus teram; neque propterea unquam olitori supplico et propterea libenter mihi adsunt puellae.

17. Quia dii mihi ita propitii sunt, nunquam credam mihi iratos esse. Ubi longam narrationem de rebus nuper gestis feci, canto, et ubi hoc feci, salto. Non possum quin dicam tibi quod Psyche his diebus ad me dixit. 15

18. Sedebam in cubiculo meo aliqua legens et cogitabam de Psyche mea. Cogebat me amor meus ut ad eam irem, ut mihi satisfacerem, et illi rem gratam praestarem, de quo non dubitabam. Cum veneram ad ostium, ubi apertum erat, statim eo ad cubiculum Psyches, ubi illa stabat — non sedebat. Accurrit illa statim et me benevole excepit. 20

19. Tum ego per duas horas cum ea solus ibi ago. Si scires quam
[p. 57] gavisus simus, quoties illa propter festiva / dicta mea riserit, ob id solum gauderes. Non potuit se continere Psyche quin me laudaret: “O quam festivus es, Ballio!” inquit, “Vellem te semper apud me esse. Totum conventum tu solus potes exhilarare. Fac mihi hoc ut crastina vespera redeas”. Simul me basiis aliquot affecit ac dimisit. 25

20. Sexcenta talia narrare possem. Nullos homines magis odi quam qui cum puellis agere non possunt. Eos, siquidem ego iudex essem, collocarem apud fustitudinas ferrirepinas insulas, ubi vivos homines mortui incursant boves”. 30

15. 1. Non si Persei parmam revelasses, obriguisssem magis ut tunc rigidus steti. Stupor, ira, indignatio, malevolentia pariter animum agmine facto invadebant.

2. Quae illa dictio! Quam concinna! Quam acuta! Quam festiva!
[p. 58] Minimum orationis habetis cuius maxima / pars mihi exciderit, non 5
arbitror vos mirari. Eam tamen ille audacter, sibi placens, mihi se
approbans dicebat; quod an risu an misericordia dignum sit, difficulter
iudices.

3. Virgilium aliosque miratus fueram, qui ex stercore Ennii aurum
legissent. At hunc qui ex auro Plauti sterlus legerat, quis non miretur? 10
Non putidiores ex universo Plauto ineptias afferre potuisset. Ita in
eodem prato bos herbam quaerit, ciconia lacertum, canis leporem, sus
lutum amat et quod ex homine adversus morsus humanos valet unicum.
Talibus ille araneis atque inaniis oppletus totus erat.

4. Hunc suspectum habui eumque esse ex amatoribus aptis qui publice 15
celebrantur, non dubius suadebat animus. Illa quae narrabat aut habe-
bam aut agebam nulla; nec falsum credebam testem apud omnes
[p. 59] acceptum esse. / Itaque non dubitavi amplius quin Gallice ac Hispanice
phaecasiatus et prasinatus hic pusio esset, qui meam Psychen asperaret,
quique resonantioris commercii nugamentis eam affectam non patiebatur 20
seriam mecum esse.

5. A talo ad verticem totum contemplatus fueram. In ceteris quae
honestum scire aequum est adolescentem, periculum feceram, nil nisi
nugae erant atque aedepol ineptiae merae. Non aliter eum virgines 25
mirantur ac pueri Iunonis avem; cetera nugae sunt. Quorsum haec?
Nimirum ut ille sit

Cara deum soboles, magnum Iovis incrementum.

6. Ego ineptus amator sim et diurnem. Ego

... merdis caput inquiner albis
[p. 60] *Corvorum atque me inveniat mictum atque cacatum/* 30
Iulius et fragilis Pedacia furque Voranus.

Ille volentibus magnis dis punctum omne ferat. Nae ille utile dulci

19 qui: quae A

27 Verg. ecl. 4,49 29-31 Hor. sat. 1,8,37-39

miscere didicit. Surreximus dein ac rursus longis precibus obtinui ut a dextris esset. Deum immortalem, quam odiosa sedulitas inepta est! Ambulo eadem fortuna, id unum optans, ut tam desiderato sodali liberarer.

16. 1. Me domum perduxit officii ergo, quem abire iam vicinum domui 5
suae volueram. Dubitavi diu num ad aedes meas invitarem. Vicit tamen
officiosi hominis praepostera humanitas ac inurbana comitas. Quae si
non alia est, reus sit Aristoteles ipsaque de virtutum numero ut expun-
gatur, si rationem non admittitis, Pythagoras iubeo. Nulla stolidior
quam quae 10

[p. 61] *Natio comoeda est; rides, more cachinno /*
Concutitur; flet, si lacrimas adspexit amici
Nec dolet ...

... si dixeris aestuo, sudat.

2. Levissime invitante sequitur. Vinum vetus propinasset, nisi eos 15
qui eo utuntur, sapientes comicus putasset. Horno vino spumantem
impleo pateram. Propinatam hausit strenue. Repetimus aliquoties.
Iamque acrius incaluerat, rubente naso maxillisque.
3. Post multa temere effutita, quod summum negotii erat, acerba
oratione in nostri saeculi mortales invehitur. Meis hoc verbis et sensu 20
complectar. Aurea fuisse olim saecula, in quibus nuda virtus placuisset
summumque certamen inter omnes fuisset, ne quid profuturum saeculis
diu lateret. Nunc veluti pecora omnes vitam silentio transigere, nullam
[p. 62] gerendis rebus materiam optare, virtutem / in iis, si qua esset, tacitam
consenescere. 25

Aetas parentum peior avis tulit
Nos nequiores mox daturos
Progeniem vitiosiore.

4. Nec de animo solum sed et de corporibus addit. Staturam ac robur
singulis aetatibus imminui. Ab Hectore lapidem sublatum, quem bini 30
non sustulissent, uti nunc mortales sumus, ut Homerus ait, exprimente
Virgilio in libro *Aeneidos*:

Qualia nunc hominum producit corpora tellus.

Et illud ex *Georgicis*:

Grandiaque effossis mirabitur ossa sepulcris.

Ceteraque id genus, quae argute magis quam vere a quibusdam prodita nimia credulitate invaluerunt, evanitura si iusto pondere sua examinare posteritas occipiat.

5

[p. 63] 5. Mirabar ego ad singula / momenta meum Theophrastum cuius antea despecta ferme, tum experientia comprobata unice adamavi. Non dubitavi enim quin et in ceteris idem esset.

6. Parabat abitum. Confestim dimitto. Nunquam laetior quam ubi hominem aversa facie conspexissem. Et pudebat et miserebat et pigebat me istius nugivenduli. Domum intravi et cubiculum, protinusque sacrata mente conceptis verbis iuro homini ei me nunquam amplius locuturum, ut sacramenti sancta religio me omni ea molestia prohiberet.

10

7. Dies duos animo corporeque laboravi, nauseante animo prae taedio fastidiosissimo pedesque continuis motionibus fere luxaveram. Non mens, non corpus sanum. Nunquam faxit deus ut tam ingens me

15

[p. 64] premat rursus periculum. /

Lupis et agnis quanto sortito obtigit,

tanta mihi cum illo discordia erat.

20

17. 1. Sic cognitis meis rivalibus, quid de me ac Psyche mea actum velim delibero. Statui tandem, ni benevola tota esset, ei valedicere. Nam nec vinci ab amatore apto gloriosum ducebam nec eam, quamvis divinam, divino tamen labore dignam iudicabam. Eamque obtinere non tam in proclivi videbam quam imbrem, quando pluit.

25

2. Placuit, si minus gratior esset, eam dicteriiis insectatam dimittere et meam fortunam verbis ulcisci. Non poteram non aliquatenus odisse, quae tam aptum amatorem amaret; eamque talem procul dubio aut fieri aut factam coniiciebam qualem amabat; quod huic aptulo imputabam, ut quae ante menses aliquot, quantum undequaque censerī poterat, in

30

[p. 65] singu-/lis praecelluerat. Adeo in vitia procliviores sumus vitio corruptae

mentis ipsisque vitiis horridior virtus videtur, ubi sua ficta voluptate semel adblandita sunt.

3. Luxi corruptam Psychen tam cito et ad eam perrexi. Commodum se ornabat ad speculum, quae humilioris servitii negotiis toto fere die districta fuerat. Gemmantes capilli late effusi dorso se inspergebant et
5 radiantem splendorem eiuculabantur.

4. Ubi illa strepitu ianuae audito se obvertit, longe alio affectu, non aliter tamen ac ad Gorgona immota lingua obstupui, oculis vel minimam voluptatem ceteris membris invidentibus. Discussa iam omnis indignatio erat et liquidior eram quam ventus Favonius. Nil volebam
10 nisi ut in amplexus ruentem blandum me Psyche exciperet.

[p. 66] 5. Contractior comam ornare / pergit ac cum verba rediissent, me tam intempestivum indignata est. Non tuli fastum sed severiore castigatione repressi, quae altius in pectus iam exacerbatum descendit.

6. Coepi conqueri me non ita excipi ut primis vicibus. Sibi liberum esse illud respondit. Hoc nulla de causa facere indecorum esse regessi. At illa: "Quasi decori leges in alio requirere possit, qui ipse non observat". Exarsi aliquantum eamque acerbius petii: non esse eius de decoro iudicare quae ineptulis gaudeat. Et mox saepe ante fixa basia obiecto, amorem, gannitum, gravem anhelitum ac inter suavia venerea suspiria
20 amarulenter exprobro. At tum vere sensi saevissimam mulierem esse,

cum stimulos odio pudor admovet. ...

[p. 67] 7. Ita omnibus modestiae frenis la-/xatis ut petita ferro, bellua in me ardentissime debachata est aestuante vultu, minantibus brachiis, pulsante pede. Dubitabam iam anne Psyche esset ac metamorphosin
25 metuebam;

... verborum tanta cadit vis

Tot pariter pelves et tintinnabula dicas

Pulsari. ...

8. Convicia ingerit fetida, acerba, maledicentia, nova, vetusta etiam
30 ante Batonem nata: pleraque meam in dicendo modestiam et abstinentiam petebant. Contemsi omnia. Dissiluire non aliter ac grando tectis

illisa. Molestus ipsi fueram: animum expleveram, nil desiderabam amplius. Ita exasperatis animis amicitiam rumpimus. Eam nefastis diis commendavi et siquidem Iovi summo placeret, noctium immanibus
[p. 68] occursaculis et pallidis sepul-/crorum terriculamentis eam devovi.

9. Quid tandem sanum corpus insana mente? Aut quid prae fracto
distortoque animo corpus omni arti imitandum censi debet? Meretria- 5
cia crusta ea pulchritudo est ac fucus foedus, quo hominum animi
decipiuntur et quem si verum excutias, stupemus magis quam conside-
ramus. Animi virtus praemium est optimum. Virtus in se omnia habet.
Omnia assunt bona penes quem est virtus. Quae si corporis oculis aspici 10
posset, ne mirabilem in omnibus sui amorem excitaret.

10. Eam aut fucatam fuisse, uti pleraeque vultu magis quam animo
bono sunt aut corruptam in Psyche nullus dubitabam. Expectoravi
omnem affectum et tristes iratique disiuncti sumus.

18. 1. Placuit liberiori caelo nauseantem animum refocillare. Quaesivi val- 15
[p. 69] lium lubrica et rosci-/da caespitum loca. Amoenissimus me cepit locus
cuius ardorem altae arbores umbra sua temperabant. Undique florens
ac viridis facies erat. Flores suavissimo odore aërem condiebant.
Medium tenebat amnis pellucidus, qui nitentia saxula respersa lambe-
bat susurro. 20

2. Ad ripam consedi ac dignum eum locum existimabam, ex quo non
sine usu discederem. Tum per acta apud me altius ascendo et, quod
caput rei erat, meam vitam cum aliorum compono pensiculatorum an
iusta, aequanima et mea aetate digna esset — germinante eram adole-
scentia —. Ea dignis utendum moribus scisco; at qui illi essent, magis 25
obscurum positu erat.

3. Ineptum amatorem me iam seram posteritatem dicturam, omnium
fere opinio erat, cuius ego tamen eapropter saepe praemia meditabar,
[p. 70] siquidem / huic aetati cavillari magis quam probare allubesceret. Nam
cuius non mors vita clarior fuit? Vivos interdum fortuna, saepe invidia, 30
saepissime malevolentia ex offensis nata fatigat. Ubi anima naturae
cessit, demtis obtrectatoribus ipsa se virtus magis magisque extollit.

4. Abstinere, non laetari prosperis, non tristari adversis, amare, non

cupere, nulli me inescandum diripiendumve tradere, virtutis non alius rei ergo et colere et observare quaeque cetera Stoici prima ducunt, ea vivus exprimo. Ceterum favorem aut odium a primis annis insuper habui. Iis artibus ad gloriam grassor.

5
5. Unum illud me vellicabat eam laudem aliis ab honoratis tribui, ex quibus nulli tamen idem modus et eidem mores essent, nemo esset qui
[p. 71] non Cupidinis arcu ad insaniam feriretur quique non obse-/quentior puellis quam sibi esset — quo nihil verae virtuti adversius.

6. Ego, ut mea semper fuit ratio, tum sic censebam: aut eam laudem magis praevalente favore, amicitia, similitudine quam veritatis prae- 10
scripto tribui; aut si vera esset, in me, qui diverso et sinceriore calle procederem, simpliciorem virtutem firmissime credebam ac postliminio magis conspicuam futuram gloriam, ut quae solidae virtuti deberetur.

7. Illud item adversus omnes calumnias iucundo solacio erat: si quis solus inter mortales mortalis non essem, eam speciem aut gradum ad 15
universi decus et pulchritudinem facere. Quam ut ordo ampliter illustrat, ita varie variegata impendio augent, non constituta, si aut luscinae solae aut pavones aut leones aut rosae essent et muscae, papiliones,
[p. 72] scarabaei, fungi, asini, po-/stremo omnia vilia desiderarentur.

8. Nulla admiratio solitariae rei est, sed quam fastigium longe infra se 20
vilia despiciens evexit. Nec solis lux tam grata esset, ni tenebrae essent. Nec tam optabilis ei sanitas, qui morbo non decubuerit. Incomptissimus quamvis essem, cur non eo nomine gloriarer ornatui me mundo esse, quem ut nec maxima onerant, ita nec minima deturpant. Eant nunc aptissimi amatores, derideant ceteros a quibus gloriae suae splen- 25
dorem mutuuntur.

9. Eam cogitationem haec suscipit: quam commoda rerum facies mihi futura esset, si, ut in prophetia communiter esse volunt, septem pro unius viri femoralibus mulieres digladiarentur. Tacitus invitusque fatum meum incusare coepi, quod me huic saeculo dedisset. Id ne penuria 30
[p. 73] virorum an ita temperante benigniore si-/dere eventurum esset. An illae omnes uno essent gavisurae et damnata polygamia rediret, an inter se de victoria contenderent eumque reportaret quae superior esset.

10. Otium suave, felicem tranquillitatem, manus remissas, os clausum

30 incusare in corrigendis pro incusari A

ceteraque felicia illa aetas pollicebatur. Non opus futurum ut me illis
nugis torquerem neque sat virium habiturum quo eas ab incursionibus
arcerem. In dubium trahere totum illud fatorum iniquitas, quae perpe-
tuis miseriis damnarunt hominem, coegit.

11. Nolui tam extra humanae fortunae aleam positae felicitati diu 5
subventaneis cogitationibus indulgere. Hoc optavi adhuc et desivi ut
tandem aut Platonici rerum gubernaculis admoverentur, aut qui ea
tenerent, platonizarent. Nil ille commodius sancivit quam ut communes
[p. 74] essent et filiae et uxores. Ita exu-/laret omnis invidia, nullus sui carissi-
mam partem deperiret, nullus efflictim amando angeretur, sed prona 10
libertate omnibus tanquam propriis gauderet.

19. 1. Sic lusi et me et loco digna. Quo confestim deserto per angustam
viam, quam ab altera parte hortulus cognatae saepiebat, decurro. Quae
cum ibi lateret, me transeuntem vocavit.
2. Aliam habebat comitem; quam ubi vidi, vix abfuit quin abissem. 15
Deformis non modicum erat, quae neque, ut ex primo fere verbo
collegi, virtutis ac morum laude turpitudinem tegere allaboraverat. Et
cur dissimulem? Os ei erat patulum

...mediisque in naribus ingens

Gibbus et acre malum semper stillantis ocelli.

20

- Heraclitica miserias et ineptias mundi continuis mergebat lacrimis.
[p. 75] Priori facile ignoscebam; / aquilinum enim erat.

3. Non diu ibi haesimus. Latus illius stipo. Ita ad urbem pergimus
eamque cum nobiscum introgredi nollet, domum deduxi reluctantem
animo. Altius se mox, ut solent deformiores, insinuabat, me amicus 25
invitat: esse quod in sua domo cupide lustraturus sim. Ita ingratis meis
obtemperavi.

4. Ad regium fere cubiculum deduxit, ubi singula mirabar: adeo polita
manus omnia compserat. Singula non memorem. Quid enim necesse?
Nunquam sic supervacuis insistere meum duxi. Vitrum illi lambunt, 30
pulverem non attingunt.

2 incursionibus: iucursioniubus A

5. Parieti appensam tabulam defert. Eam oculis meis obiicit in qua lineamenta rudi aut nulla arte, ut ego aestimabam, coniecta magis quam tracta videbam neque quid ea species referret, percipere valui.
 [p. 76] Mox illa lignum appensum ad / crepidinem tabulae aptat ac me per foramen intueri iussit. Exactissima figura canem conspicio. Mirabar ea 5
 rudia lineamenta, quae ante culpaveram ac penitiori optices studio eam picturam deberi facile videbam.

6. Inde alia agimus. Illa liberrime me habebat, quae, si libertatem eadem audacula concinnitate sermonis aut gestuum miscuisset, potuisset forsam amatores non abstertere. Discedenti promissum hoc, ut cum 10
 cognata eam inviserem, extorsit.

20. 1. Imus dominica die, ut solet, prava consuetudine, peiori exemplo. Sudum erat caelum, quo ei expatiari lubebat. Aëris inconstantiam aliaque quae poteram obiiciebam. Metuebam praecocem nostri vulgi loquacitatem, ne qui magis contemptus a Psyche quam eam contempsisse 15
 [p. 77] credebar, huic studere dicerer. Vicit tamen, cum instaret. /

2. Nec secus evenit quam veritus fueram. Et qui mecum Psychen amaverat et alii noti, pueri atque puellae, occurrunt. Statim eo rumore urbs incaluit me eam ambire neque dubitabat quisquam, quin nullo negotio eius matrimonium obtenturus essem. 20

3. Me obvium sibi is quem maxime diligebam, increpat: ab equabus ad asinas descendere, omnibus ludibrio ac sannae me esse; nec dubitare se quin satiricis poetis materiam darem. Tam demisse ut nunquam de me sentiret volui et non mediocriter et mihi et garrulis irascebar. Alii eodem pacto me compellaverant. Apud omnes asseveranter negabam. 25
 Nullus credidit. Aegerrime tuli.

4. Postero mane haec ad ostium meum suspensa chartula erat, in qua
 [p. 78] poetico centone sic appetebam. Fecerat hoc procul dubio aut quia / ipsi
 haud benignior vena aut compendii causa:

... *Dic quo beatus*
Vulnere, qua pereas sagitta.
 ... *quae te cunque domat Venus*
Non erubescendis adurit

30

*Ignibus ingenuoque semper
 Amore peccas. Quicquid habes, age,
 Depone tutis auribus. Ah miser
 Quanta laboras in Charybdi
 Digne puer meliore flamma.
 Quae saga, quis te solvere Thessalis
 Magus venenis, quis poterit deus?
 Vix illigatum te triformi
 Pegasus expediet Chimaerae.
 Quippe nec minimo puella naso,
 Nec bello pede nec nigris ocellis
 Nec longis digitis nec ore sicco
 Nec sane nimis elegante lingua.*

5

10

5. Immerentem sic taxari aegrius me habuit. Cederemne criminationibus an me masculine opponerem, coepi ambigere. Nunquam loqui illi
 [p. 79] Gly-/cerio tutissimum ratus sum. Omnem rumorem uti cito oritur, ita citius dispalari acceperam; quem si etiam vanis suspicionibus alas, esse quod tibi imputes.

21. 1. Non longum post Sauream familiarem mihi aliquando ad istam puellam totum animum appulisse cognosco. Nunc me ab aliis ei adiunctum procum, antea alios se mihi iunxisse indignabar. Supercilium mihi saliebat, ubi amorem Saureae rescivi. Scaevine an dextri illud ominis fuerit, vos iudicate. Quid sui cum amaracino? Itane et ille Cupidini litat?

20

2. Erat homo ille taetricus, amarulentus, tristis, torvus, maiorum minorumque censor, animo dissimili, habitu peculiari, statura inimitabili, in quo toto nil aliud commendares nisi singularis ac propriae raritatis, qua unice gaudere videbatur, cohonestamentum.

25

[p. 80] 3. Pileo nec modus nec pallio / erat: illum brevitatis, hoc laciniata longitudo dehonestabat. Putes tali in animo aut modum aut modestiam esse. Ita

30

*dum stulti vitant vitia, in contraria ruunt.
 Malthinus tunicis demissis ambulat; est qui
 Inguen ad obscenum subductis usque; facetus
 Pastillos Rufillus olet, Gorgonius hircum.
 Nil medium est. ...*

5

Capilli ipso supercilio longe breviores. Frons lima, oculi in terram deiecti non secus ac silicernii. Nutans cervix indicabat profecto non memorem eum hominem se ἄνθρωπον esse, cui os sublime datum ut caelum spectet. Cum plateas permeabat, soli pedes in negotio erant, cetera stupidus ac rigidus erat. Nulla ei erat sura.

10

[p. 81] 4. Me hercule aetatibus / Romanorum si vixisset apud eos, nunquam fuisset mane videndus. Impense tamen iste homo se amabat. Quam caecitatem nec innocuam naturae beneficio nec voluntarie ineptam facile dixerim.

5. Saepe sic benignius de talibus sensi: naturae eos curae fuisse, quae omnia adempta hac stolidi opinione pensavit, ut qui aliis omnibus deridiculo sunt, sibi quam maxime placerent, ne undiquaque aucta tristitia penitus obtorpescerent. Et certe, si ille tantum sibi quantum aliis displiceret, se consortio hominum exemptum vellet. Nunc gaudet totus omnesque sibi applaudere existimat. Magna illi libido carpendi singula. Nec abeas ab eo quin doctior evaseris, qui sibi persuasit aut in summo eruditionis culmine versari se aut sua sorte contento id non esse appetendum.

15

20

[p. 82] 6. Adeo praepostere ho-/mines virtutum nomina applicant nec amissa tantum per flagitiosorum commenta iamdudum sunt vera rerum vocabula, sed a superstitionis virtutis sectatoribus, confinio externae larvae, variae virtutes confinguntur, non spectata rei natura. Sorte sua contentos haud paucos invenias: rarae ii virtutis exempla sunt. Ast in rerum scientia qui talis videri vult, vix non insipidus est.

25

7. Gurgis vastus est cuius fundum nullus mergendo attingit. Cacumen quo humanis pedibus non itur, nec alis evolat. Scilicet superbiae praecipitium illi metuunt, ne in lubrico constitutos continuus terror gravioris lapsus angat, ac vanitatem, ne inani illa scientiae aura inflati ridenda ruptura tenues in auras evanescent.

30

8. Quemque diem se male collocasse arbitratur, si non aliquem rigida
 [p. 83] censura mul-/tarit. Omnes inveteratas consuetudines ac innoxia insti-
 tuta ridet. Nudo capite vinum principi libare piaculum ducit et ex iis
 sane est, qui dubitant fere an in caelis numen sit, non alia inducti
 ratione quam quia antiquitus sic creditum. 5

9. Potest ille omnium malorum scaturigines in politicis, in oeconomicis,
 ecclesiasticis ostendere ac remedia tentanda proponere. Ita cum semper
 papulas alienas tractat, eum fera scabies depascitur, qui ignorat nec
 miseratur triste illud mortalitatis privilegium aliquando peccare. Ubi
 ethnicorum deorum nomen audit, ne quanto zelo ardet! Si aut vocem 10
 “certe” aut “profecto” aut “verissime” audiverit, mille te modis quasi
 penitus peccare nesciret, aut id peccare esset, aversabitur. Sic obiecta
 [p. 84] religiosi zeli specie plurimos fatigat saepe sub / onere fatiscentes.

10. At nil dulcius quam ei nugas suas ostendere! Exactam rei rationem,
 non rem solum dare, id vero opus est. Plurimis in cerebro nascitur 15
 pietatis regula cuius praeiudicio ducti, toto saepissime caelo aberrant.
 Nec minus superstitio malum, si non impietate at certe veritatis divinae
 ignoratione.

11. Non inter ineptos amatores eum censebam tantum sed et congres-
 sui cuilibet incommodum. Eum amare etiam, procari, ridere, basiare, 20
 nugari! Hui mortales! Iuratis credebam tamen, quod etiam ipsa proba-
 vit mihi experientia.

22. 1. Forte Fortuna incido in contubernium cui illa ipsa cum Saurea
 intererat. Haesi admiratione amatoris tam elegantuli. Et brachium lateri
 iunxerat — facili tamen opera: arcui enim simile erat. Sed tam scitule 25
 [p. 85] ludebat ut / me mei puderet.

2. Secessi aliquantum ac onustum animum sic displosi: “O dii deaeque,
 quam variis ingeniis ludimur et quam diversum homines a natura
 exculti sunt. Saurea amator! Bellus, iucundus, suavis! Quid unquam
 portentosius extitit? Omnem ille physiognomiam elusit. O curas vestras! 30
 Quantum est in rebus inane!”

3. Mirabatur me Saurea secessisse ac ad officium revocabat. Sola enim
 ea erat cum qua sermones contuleram. Verebar ne aperte et mordaciter
 facinus meum prostitueret. Mox ut quilibet cantilenam recitaret, sena-
 tusconsultum fit. Ego pallebam eo audito solum. Nec quidquam cunc- 35

tatus Saurea (is enim primus erat) asininum rudit, bovinum mugit, ovinum balat. Dentium dolorem acerbissimum mihi excitabat et ille
[p. 86] tamen nos acu-/tius rimabatur, subridens saepius num nos dulcisonus ille cantus afficeret.

4. Omnibus venam occlusit nec ullus fuit qui vocem extollere auderet. 5
Midae sibi aures metuebat quilibet, si se cantu meliorem existimasset. Alia dein exercemus. In singulis ita praecelebat Saurea ut omnibus palmam praeiperet. Et medius fidius post eum in talibus quid audere voluisse, fuisset post Roscium in scaena gestum effingere. Ovanti laurea redimitus ibat Saurea, nos numerus eramus. 10

5. Ego naturae gratias dixi sequentibus versibus, quae me talem fecerat, ut nunquam sic cuiquam placerem:

*Dii bene fecerunt inopis me quodque pusilli
Fecerunt animi raro et perpauca loquentis.*

[p. 87] Stupui in eo efficacissimam amoris vim ac iam tandem vero ter-/rore 15
perculsus fore ut cum ceteris aliquando insanirem. Dubitavi anne personatus Saurea esset, qui homines ea rigiditate falleret. Nil assequi potui. Nolui me amplius in incertum distrahere. Passus sum eum sua gaudere.

6. Maximam partem felicitatis me posse assequi ducerem, si mundus 20
talibus careret, aut assecutum, si nunquam occurrerent. Si quisquam debilis, ego sum, cui vel minima maximo offendiculo sunt. Eius si validam curam ago, quis arguat?

23. 1. Eapropter post tam varias iactationes omni consortio abstinere ad tempus decrevi et me caveae inclusum rarissime frigidior aër perflavit. 25
Ne loqui quidem quatuor septimanis ulli puellae, quamvis ab ipsa Venere optatissimum nuntium adferret, vovi. Artius quam obstrictus eram, observavi.

[p. 88] 2. Iis elapsis me rur-/sus coetui quorumlibet immiscui. Alia experiebar ora vultusque nec quisquam aut valde imminebat aut minimum cura- 30
bat. Mirabar quid hoc rei esset. Subiit suspicio anne, ut olim Chiis publico vomitu foetentibus magna Graeciae comitia potestatem sancire, foede, quicquid vellent, agendi, ita mihi deplorato permetterent

agere ineptissime quaecunque collibuissent. Nec sannis sapuisse nec derisiones sensisse et esse eundem qui fueram experiebantur. Paene non distant a deperditis quae incurabile malum invasit, quae nec cura amplius asservantur et voluntarie incauto pede proteruntur.

3. Talem me censi ab omnibus suspicabar. Igitur statui tandem serio 5
eam rem animo aggredi ac probare quid Amatus posset, si vellet.
[p. 89] Iamque tempus erat, ne eo elapso per aetatem, quae al-/tioribus intenta
esse deberet, addiscere non liceret.
4. Illud timebam — quod animum accendebat non parum — ne mihi
contingeret, quod usuvenire ineptis amatoribus saepius acceperam, ut 10
turpissimae animo corporeque tandem copularer. Plane is fueram qui
deformes sarcastice riseram et nullis veniam dederam; nolle me nisi
formosissimam, nummatam probe et undiquaque felicem Thrasonice
iactaveram.
5. Eo animo post curatum corpus me somno dedi, quem insomnia sub 15
noctis conticinium placidum non siverunt. Mentis attentio et angor
vapores perrupit et somnum discussit, quem vigiles cogitationes inse-
cutae sunt.
6. In somno imago puellae obversata erat, quam horreo repetens.
Videbar mihi eius amore penitus implicitus eam amare perditae, nec 20
[p. 90] otium nec quietem esse ni-/si ei adessem et fugere tamen meque
fugientem sic semper eam insectari.

*O multa fleturum caput,
Ad me recurres nec vocata mens tua
Marsis redibit vocibus.
Maius parabo, maius infundam tibi
Fastidienti poculum.
Priusque caelum sidet inferius mari
Tellure porrecta super
Quam non amore sic meo flagres uti
Bitumen atris ignibus.*

25

30

7. Tandemque post varios casus me ei — Proh numen! — connubio
iungi. Non tam formosa Psyche est ut haec deformis erat, inepta, nullis

moribus, incompta, nil sani in toto corpore, pecuniis orba. O deum
immortalem! Nulla virtus inerat nec mica salis — nisi pro sale animam
[p. 91] datam velis, quo Chrysippus elogio porcum orna-/vit.

8. Totum sudore me anxietas et pudor et molestia perfundebat. Phrene-
ticis furebam animis ac paene ea parte spiritum extraxissem, quae 5
attrahit in vitae fomentum. Extremo lacrimarum solacio mihi videbar
carere, cum per alterum continuum somnium hoc addo. Decrepitae
aetatis senex, ubi caussam mali noverat, sic me solabatur:

*Somnia quae mentes ludunt volitantibus umbris,
Non delubra deum nec ab aethere numina mittunt, 10
Sed sibi quisque facit. Nam quum prostrata sopore
Urget membra quies et mens sine pondere ludit,
Quicquid luce fuit, tenebris agit. ...*

Non esse iis credendum quae fatidica non essent.

9. Eadem tamen cura somniantem angebat, cum profundo elapsus 15
[p. 92] somno evigilo, / mortifero sudore perfluens: adeo penetrans et pervicax
visum me perculerat. Versabam ea recenti memoria. Turbarunt non
parum, nam quum vera essent quae senex dixerat, spe et metu diversis
consultoribus ferebar.

10. Non credendum somniis somniaveram. Quae nugae? Et seni cre- 20
dere hoc impendebat, quod somniis fidem somnio detraxeram; et si non
crederem, credebam tamen qui non credendum somniis somno didice-
ram. Haesi diutius in paedagogico hoc acumine. Fallacia quidem et
vana sciebam somnia. Ast hoc noveram, nimio celerius venire quod
molestum est, quam id quod cupide petas. 25

11. Ni postridie iis cogitationibus animus imbutus fuisset, praesagium
certissimum credidissem. Interim propositum meum non parum immi-
[p. 93] nuit, neque tam cupienti eram corrigen-/dae, si diis placeret, vitae
studio utqui forsitan omnis operae hanc mercedem laturus essem.

24. 1. Is nunc sum. Cetera de me et a me posthac expectate. Ineptus 30
amator cum essem, studebam hominibus contra naturae impetum puel-
lis aliquando blandiendo eam de me opinionem extorquere; nec potui
tamen: nimis longae asini aures erant.

2. Et haec ipsa eo scripta sunt, ut et vos, quotquot mei notitiam vobis persuadetis, fallerem et suspensos haberem. Nec quis culpet artem me meam prodere. Et scio et volo non ineptum amatorem solum — quod quam minutum — sed et scriptorem.

3. Adeo principio finis in omnibus dictis et factis meis respondet. Omnia meri fuci, piaae fraudes, nugae, ineptiae, inaniae, afaniae sunt.

Valete.

FINIS.

III COMMENTARY

- title — *Hippophilo Canusio*: it is unclear to whom the author addresses his dedicatory letter. The name, obviously a pseudonym like Amatus Fornacius itself, means “Hoary Horse-lover”.
- pro. 1 — *Scriptum tibi non vulgare*...: the topos of presenting something unusual and unknown aims at arousing the reader’s interest and curiosity in the book he has just started to read (cfr. E.R. Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Bern/München, 1967⁶), p. 95).
- pro. 2 — *Velato nomine*: for the meaning of the pseudonym: see pp. 245-246.
- pro. 3 — *Neminem nisi me ipso*: the author is indeed very severe upon himself, and he repeatedly mentions his own foolishness (prooem. 5,8,9; 2.1; 11.5 *et alibi*). Others, however, are also harshly judged, especially Ballio, rival # 2 (e.g. 12.2-3; 15.3), Glycerium, the beloved of Amatus’s friend Saurea (19.2), and Saurea himself (21.1-4).
- pro. 4 — *Illi aureo*: γνῶθι σεαυτόν: this well-known adage can for example be found in Aristotle, *Rhet.* 2,21.
- pro. 7 — *De meliore nota*: cfr. Cic. *epist.* 7,29,1.
— *Ventosae plebis suffragia*: Hor. *epist.* 1,19,37.
- pro. 8 — *Me deridendum*... *propinare*: cfr. Ter. *Eun.* 1087.
- pro. 9 — *Memoriam*... *refrico*: cfr. Cic. *Phil.* 3,7.
- pro. 11 — *Nec indigna lectu*... *sufficeret mihi unus lector*: this idea, occurring in Classical authors like Horace (*sat.* 1, 10,72-74), was very common in Renaissance literature. It can be read, for example, in the dedicatory letter of Erasmus’s *Laus stultitiae*: “Sed quid ego haec tibi, patrono tam singulari ut causas etiam non optimas optime tamen tueri possis?” (*Opera Omnia D. Erasmi*, IV 3: *Moriae encomium*, ed. Cl. H. Miller, Amsterdam, 1979, p. 70).

- 1.1 — *Patriam ... placuit*: throughout this satire, the author makes an effort to conceal his identity, but, as I have mentioned in the Introduction to this edition, we may assume that Fornacius originates from France (pp. 246-248).
 - *Febriculosam ac prurientem suam eruditionem*: the *Am. In.* breathes, indeed, an atmosphere of erudition, close to pedantry, because of the many quotations and reminiscences.
- 1.3 — *Nulla tempora aut fastos mundi evolvam*: cfr. *Hor. sat.* 1,3,112.
 - *Egomet mihi non ignosco*: cfr. *Hor. sat.* 1,3,23.
 - *Serpens Epidaurius non tam acutum ... mala*: *Hor. sat.* 1,3,25-27.
- 1.4 — *Plautinum illud*: the quotation is not from Plautus, but from Varro! Or must we understand *Plautinus* as “worthy of Plautus”?
 - *O mores! O tempora!*: *Cic. Catil.* 1,2: “O tempora! O mores!”
 - *Quantum mortalia pectora noctis habent!*: *Ov. met.* 6,472-73.
 - *In rebus inane!*: this *iunctura* appears frequently in Lucretius, *De rerum natura* (e.g. 1, 330; 399; 511). Nevertheless, Fornacius here alludes to the exclamation in *Pers.* 1,1: “O curas hominum! Quantum est in rebus inane!”, as he says: “Magnum exclamassem”. Furthermore, the satirist clearly alludes to the same verse by writing “O curas vestras! Quantum est in rebus inane!” in paragraph 22.2.
 - *Stultorum omnia plena*: *Cic. epist.* 9,22,4.
- 1.5 — *Elleborum*: In antiquity, hellebore, esteemed to be a purifying herb, was used to cure insanity (cfr. *Hor. epist.* 2,2,137; *Sen. benef.* 35,2).
 - *Quo et Chrysippus ... ter mentem puriorem deterisit*: this famous anecdote was also told of Carneades (*Gell.* 17,15,1; *Mart. Cap.* 4,327, vs. 10). Fornacius more or less relies on the version of Petronius (*Satiricon* 88).
- 1.6 — *Nulla Circe*: love and desire are more dangerous than a witch like Circe, who, in the *Odyssey* (10,135 sqq.), turned Odysseus's greedy companions into pigs. Circe here stands for “temptation”.
 - *Unius temporis honestam sapientes dixere avaritiam*: referring to *Sen. dial.* 10,3,1. Time is the only thing one has to use sparingly, not money or goods. But then, what takes up more time than being involved in a love affair?
 - *Nil placet momento*: every moment of time demands another way of dealing with the situation. Because of the rapid concatenation of these moments, however, one never seems to get it right.
 - *Non aliter ac Iunonis sacra ferres*: *Iunonis sacra ferre* means “to walk solemnly, to stride”; cfr. *Hor. sat.* 1,3,11.
 - *Testudineo gradiri gradu*: cfr. *Plaut. Aul.* 50. The infinitive *gradiri* may seem unusual, but, the verb *gradior*, as the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (*ad loc.*) reports, has often changed over, from Plautus onwards, to the fourth conjugation. On top of this tendency, the manuscript tradition of this Plautinian verse gives as a reading the obviously corrupt “gradibo” (for “grandibo”).
- 2.1 — *Fortean*: mentioned in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (*ad loc.*) as a “prava lectio cod. Palat. secundi *Cic. Manil.* 20” (for “forte ea”). This fairly unusual word occurs twice in Justus Lipsius's *Somnium* (*Epist. Scal.*; 36) (*Two Neo-*

Latin Menippean Satires. Justus Lipsius: Somnium. Petrus Cunaeus: Sardi venales edited ... by C. Matheeußen and C.L. Heesakkers, *Textus minores LIV* (Leiden, 1980), p. 34 and p. 66).

- 2.2 — *Effracto putamine nucleum extrahere*: cfr. Plaut. *Curc.* 55; cfr. Erasmus, *Adagia*, II, ix, 35.
 - *Quibus de meliore luto ... finxisset*: cfr. Iuv. 14, 34-35.
 - *Quos aequus Iupiter amasset et ardens virtus ...*: cfr. Verg. *Aen.* 6, 129-130.
- 2.3 — *Hoc pertritum*: Fornacius inserts a story from Boccaccio's *Decameron* (4,1 introd. 12-29) (*Opere di Giovanni Boccaccio* A cura di Cesare Segrè. *Commento di Maria Consigli Segre*, I *Classici Italiani*, III (Milano, 1967*), p. 256-58).
 - *Ad eam ... aetatem*: in the original story, the young man has come to the age of eighteen when taken into town by his father (4,1, introd. 17: "essendo già il garzone d'età di diciotto anni") (ed. Segre).
- 2.4 — *Nitentes vittas ac spatiosa vestimenta*: Boccaccio does not describe what clothes the girls wore. Since they were coming from a wedding, we may assume they were well and beautifully dressed (4,1, introd. 20: "una brigata di belle giovani donne e ornate, che da un paio di nozze venieno") (ed. Segre). The *nitentes vittas* in the *Amator ineptus* must be the ornaments that ladies of the better class wore in their hair. The words *spatiosa vestimenta* refer to the loose frocks that were very fashionable at the beginning of the Baroque period (cfr. *Elseviers Kostuumgids. Westerse kledingstijlen van de vroege Middeleeuwen tot heden* met illustraties van Diana van Uiter-Kaltofen (Amsterdam/Brussel, 1981), p. 47).
 - *Lapis est*: the authors of comedies (e.g. Plaut. *Mil.* 236) use *lapis* as a term of invective for a "fool" or a "blockhead".
- 2.6 — *A natura insitus*: a common *iunctura*: e.g. Cic. *Sull.* 83; Hor. *sat.* 1, 3, 35; Plin. *nat.* 2, 239.
- 3.1 — *Enthea*: this name is derived from the Greek adjective ἐνθεος, ος, ον, meaning "inspired". It is improbable that the author should think of an enchantress that really existed.
 - *Virtutem gloria ... sequitur*: cfr. Cic. *Tusc.* 1, 45.
- 3.2 — *Paucissima ... laudabis*: the origin of this "argumentum" is unknown to me. These words, however, are printed in the same type as the running title, unlike the other (verse) quotations that are set in italics.
 - *Avium maxima formido*: cfr. Hor. *sat.* 1, 8, 3-4.
- 3.3 — *Sub herba latere anguem*: cfr. Verg. *ecl.* 3, 93.
 - *Astutam vulpem ... servari*: cfr. Pers. 5, 117.
- 3.6 — *Caperata fronte*: cfr. Varro, *men.* 134.
 - *Citius ex pumice aquam elicuisse*: cfr. Plaut. *Persa*, 42; cfr. Erasmus, *Adagia*, I, iv, 75 "Aquam e pumice postulas".
- 3.7 — *Cum illae pleno ... disploderent*: This expression can be counted among the indications for the French origin of Amatus Fornacius (see p. 246-248). There may also be a link with Pers. 1, 12: "sed sum petulanti splene: cachinno".
 - *Cato*: viz. M. Porcius Cato Censorius, who was renowned for his severity concerning mores.

- 3.8 — *Difficillimum est et proelio ... et ... consilio*: cfr. Sall. *Iug.* 7,5.
- 4.1 — *In contubernium*: this reunion is apparently some sort of salon or “ruelle”.
- 4.2 — *Palliaastro latus circumdo*: Fornacius obviously bears Apul. *met.* 1,6 in mind (“scissili palliaastro semiamictus”), since we read, a few lines further on (4.3), “scissili amictu vestita ancilla”.
- 4.4 — *Novitate rei attonitus*: cfr. Ov. *met.* 8,681; 11,127.
 — *Animum ... commasculare*: cfr. Apul. *met.* 2,23.
 — *Punicantem faciem*: cfr. id. *ibid.* 1,6.
 — *Oscillatione*: probably from Petron. 140.
- 4.5 — *Ancipiti proelio*: a very common *iunctura* (e.g. Caes. *Gall.* 1,26,1; 7,76,6; *civ.* 3,63,2), indicating a battle with changing chances. The word *proelium* occurs, with an erotical connotation, in Apul. *met.* 2,16.
- 5.2 — *Tam titubante ... gradu vacillabam*: cfr. Apul. *met.* 1,18; cfr. 5.25.
- 5.3 — *Aetatis ... consideratione*: There are no exact indications of Amatus’s age. The author restricts his information to vague phrases as “germinante adolescentia” (18.2) or relative expressions like this one, or “provectorioris [aetatis] erat” (7.9).
- 5.4 — *Incenderam*: the metaphor becomes totally ridiculous through the climax “incalent ferventque”, based upon the literal meaning of the word.
- 5.5 — *Suevico gelu*: *Suevicus* here means “northern”; there seems to be no connection with Tacitus’s “Suevicum mare” (*Germ.* 45).
- 6.1 — *Variam et ... feminam*: cfr. Verg. *Aen.* 4,569-70.
 — *Omne fluctu magis mobile profanum vulgus*: this phrase combines Hor. *carm.* 3,1,1 “profanum vulgus” with Sen. *Herc. f.* 170 “fluctuque magis mobile vulgus”. Statius in his *Silvae* (2,2,123), also speaks of the “mobile vulgus”.
- 6.3 — *Iam ... conclamatum erat*: “All was lost!” — cfr. Ter. *Eun.* 348.
- 6.4 — *Si ... me Apollo aliquis servasset*: cfr. Hor. *sat.* 1,9,78.
 — *Doloris levamentum*: this *iunctura* also occurs in Pliny the Younger (*epist.* 8,19,1).
- 6.5 — *Officioso gestu*: the satirical portrayal of manners is a recurrent theme in the *Amator ineptus*.
 — *Salutem imprecantur*: cfr. Apul. *met.* 9,25.
- 7.1 — *Cum ex ... memoria disco ...*: Fornacius hereby alludes to Plin. *nat.* 2,107: several disasters accompany the rise of the *Canicula* or “lesser Dog-star” (the “malignum sidus” of the *Amator ineptus*). The Egyptians, Pliny says, tell the story of a certain animal, called “oryx”, that stares at this rising Dog-star and then sneezes, as in adoration.
 — *Non levi coniectura augurabar*: *coniectura* and *augurari* are combined as in Cic. *de orat.* 1,21.
 — *Ineptulis*: an older example of this *verbum novum* can be found in verse 199 of the *Andrisca* (1538) by Georgius Macropedius (1487-1558). The play was edited by Fr. Leys in *Hum. Lov.* 31 (1982), 76-119. The word also occurs in paragraph 17.6 of this text.

- 7.2 — *Nasutulis*: a new and despising diminutive based upon the existing *nasutus* ("large-nosed" hence "sagacious", "censorious"). The word also occurs in an oration by the Anglo-American Urian Oakes (1631/32-1681). See L.M. Kaiser, "Tercentenary of an Oration: The 1672 Commencement Address of Urian Oakes", *Harvard Library Bulletin*, xxi (1973), 75-87, p. 84.
The use of this particular adjective is all the more witty because of the context of sneezes and handkerchieves.
- *Ansam*: cfr. Erasmus, *Adagia*, I,iv,4 "ansam quaerere & consimiles metaphorae".
- 7.3 — *Distentis natibus pepedit*: cfr. Hor. *sat.* 1,8,46-47: "...pepedi / diffissa nate ficus ...".
A similarly embarrassing situation is reported in the third book (added in 1552 to the originally two books of the 1549 edition) of Dedekind's *Grobian*; one of the many reprints of this satire was published in Leyden only two years before the *Amator ineptus*. The copy of the *Amator ineptus* in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris is bound with such a reprint of the *Grobian*.
Dedekind describes how a man, who is about to make a speech, kneels down solemnly and farts. His audience pretends not to have heard anything, except for one girl who cannot help laughing. The young lady unfortunately farts as well, and justice is done (ed. 1631, Lib. III, cap. vii [p. 189, v. 13-23 — p. 190, v. 1-12]).
- 7.6 — *Magis muta quam piscis*: the dumbness of fish had already become proverbial in Antiquity (cfr. Hor. *carm.* 4,3,19). H. Walther found this comparison in two seventeenth-century collections of proverbs, one dating from 1601 and the other from 1646 (*Proverbia sententiaeque Latinitatis medii ac recentioris aevi N.S. Lateinische Sprichwörter ... Aus dem Nachlass von H. Walther, hrsg. von P.G. Schmidt, Carmina Medii Aevi Posterioris Latina II/8* (1983), sub 37990 "magis mutus quam piscis").
- 7.7 — *Nigroque simillima somno*: Fornacius quotes "nigro" instead of "volucris".
- *Non aliter quam ubi Aurora ...*: this pseudo-Homeric simile contains every element to evoke the thought of an idyllic sunrise in the reader's mind: sunshine, mountain tops, the singing of birds.
- *croceo vultu*: *croceus* is a set quality of dawn in Greek and Roman poetry. A κροκόπεπλος 'Hῶς appears in Homer's *Iliad* (8,1; 23,227; 24,695). Virgil left us the verse: "Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile" (*georg.* 1,447 = *Aen.* 4,585 = *Aen.* 9,460), while Seneca chose the following words: "clarescit dies ortuque Titan lucidus croceo subit."
- *Titan*: Titan, as the god of dawn, also appears in *Aen.* 4, 118-19.
- *Cantillant volucres*: the verb *cantillare* is Apuleian (e.g. *met.* 4,8). Singing birds often take part in the description of early morn, as in Verg. *Aen.* 8,456: "et matutini volucrum sub culmine cantus".
- 7.8 — *Ut vesicam exonerarem*: cfr. Petron. 27; Apul. *met.* 1,13. To mention such a basic physical need in such a frank and shameless way is the satirist's privilege. This form of *rusticitas* is recommended by Friedrich Dedekind in his *De morum simplicitate* or *Grobianus* (ed. 1631, Lib. I, cap. ii, [p. 24, v. 14-20]): "Tempore

vesicam iusto relevamus et alvum,/ Idque hominum nemo iudicat esse malum./
Verba reformidant tantum, propriisque vocari/ Nominibus rigidi talia facta
vetant./ Quod genus hoc hominum? quae tanta insania mentis?/ Sit pudor in
verbis, resque pudore vacent?/”

- *Nam provectionis erat*: cfr. note on 5.3 “aetatis ... consideratione”.
- 7.9 — *Ringentis nasi*: in Petron. 75 *ringens* occurs in the tropical sense (= *indignatus*). Fornacius, however, applies the word in its literal meaning (= *in rugas contractus*; cfr. 3.6).
 - *Animum advorte*: about twenty *loci* of Plautus’s comedies contain this expression (e.g. *Amph.* 393: “animum advorte. nunc licet mi libere quidvis loqui”).
 - *Et quibus maximus metus ... pro muro habetur*: cfr. Sall. *Catil.* 58,17.
- 7.10 — *Famam tuam ... vitiosa nuce*: cfr. Plaut. *Mil.* 316.
 - *Putidus fungus*: cfr. Plaut. *Bacch.* 821.
- 7.11 — *Spartanica patientia concoxi*: cfr. Petron. 105. *Spartanicus* is an unusual derivation from *Sparta*, instead of: *Spartanus*, *Sparticus*, or *Spartiatricus*.
 - *Streperis criminationibus*: the adjective *streperus*, “noisy”, does not occur in classical texts but is found in neo-Latin texts like Basilius Plinius (†1605), *Encomium inclitae civitatis Rigae metropolis Livoniae* (Leipzig, 1595), v. 642, and *Ad contemptorem Lapponiae* (ca. 1740?), v. 12 (cfr. E. Tengström, “Une apologie du peuple lapon en vers latin (ca. 1740?)”, *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 12 (1973) 325-331, pp. 327-328 ad v. 12).
- 8. — *General remark on chapter 8*: the description of fair Psyche, following in this chapter, is mainly inspired by Apuleius, but also consists of a series of topical characteristics. Therefore, I shall quote a number of passages that have not necessarily served as an example for Amatus Fornacius, but do defend a similar opinion on feminine beauty.
- 8.2 — *Psyche*: Fornacius does not mention the girl’s true name, but after comparing her to the famous character of Apuleius’s fairy tale in the *Metamorphoses*, continues calling her by that name.
 - *Veneris ... invidia ac Cupidinis ... amore*: cfr. Apul. *met.* 4,30 *sqq.*; Apuleius’s Psyche was loved by Cupid, but envied and persued by his mother Venus.
 - *Diana, Venus erat*: Fornacius compares Psyche exactly with those two goddesses, to whom Peter Skrine refers as “those tutelary deities of the baroque world” (*The Baroque. Literature and Culture in Seventeenth-Century Europe* (London, 1978), p. 115).
 - *Zeuxis*: famous Greek painter from Heraclea; he came to Athens around 425 B.C.
- 8.3 — The following part of this description often uses the words of Apul. *met.* 2,2: “inenormis proceritas, succulenta gracilitas, rubor temperatus. flavum et inadfectatum capillitium, oculi cae[c]isii quidem sed vigiles et in aspectu micantes, prorsus aquilini, os quoquoversum floridum, speciosus et immeditatus incensus.”
 - *Nigricantes*: cfr. Catull. 43.2 “nigris ocellis”.
 - *Patulicantes*: this word is base upon a *varia lectio* for “pastillicantibus” in Plin.

- nat.* 11,8,25 (cfr. E. Forcellini, *Lexicon totius Latinitatis*, s.v. *patulicans*), and is used as a synonym for *patuli* or *patentes*.
- *Non sidera vividiore splendore vibrant*: cfr. *Ov. am.* 3,3,9: “radiant ut sidus ocelli”; *id. met.* 1,499: “sideribus similes oculos”; *Petron.* 126: “clariores stellis”.
- 8.4 — *Supercilia distinctissima*: in Antiquity, joining eyebrows were considered to be a mark of feminine beauty (cfr. comment on *Ov. ars* 3,200 in *P. Ovidius Naso. De arte amatoria libri tres*, erklärt von Paul Brandt (Hildesheim, 1963), p. 153). In Renaissance literature, however, clearly distinct brows are a feature of the pretty young lady. Thus, we read, for example, in the story *De Eurialo et Lucretia*, written by Enea Silvio Piccolomini: “supercilia in arcum tensa, pilis paucis nigrisque, debito intervallo disjuncta” (*epistulae* I, p. 355 ed. Wolkán).
- *Labia sanguinea*: true beauty is, since ancient times, characterized by red lips (cfr. *Ov. am.* 3,14,23 “purpureis... labellis”; *Mart.* 4,42,10: “rubeant aemula labra rosis”).
- *Roseae genae*: cfr. *Verg. Aen.* 12,606.
- *Quas omnis fucus foedasset*: Already in Antiquity, women made their cheeks blush artificially (e.g. *Tib.* 1,8,11 “fucus splendente genas ornare”). It is known that seventeenth-century ladies used white powder and rouge to make up their faces and accentuated their eyes with black (*Elseviers Kostuumgids*, p. 47).
- 8.5 — *Capillitium flavum*: fair hair is a feature of gods and heroes in ancient literature (e.g. *Ov. met.* 2,749), and is seen as a sign of beauty (cfr. *Hor. carm.* 1,5,4; *Ov. am.* 2,4,39).
- *Concordia volumina*: cfr. note on 17.5 “comam ornare”.
- 8.8 — *Omni gratiarum choro stipata erat*: cfr. *Apul. met.* 2,8.
- *Moribus ludicra prorsusque argutula*: cfr. *id. ibid.* 2,6.
- *Oratione vinnula venustulaque*: cfr. *Plaut. Asin.* 223.
- 9.1 — *Gallice*: probably the “patrius sermo” from 14.11.
- 9.2 — *Id in summis votis iam erat*: cfr. *Hor. sat.* 2,6,1: “hoc erat in votis”.
- 9.7 — *Adeo tum demum...*: a variant on this *locus communis* can be found in 18.8.
- *Homerici canis... expavescit*: it is unclear to what text Fornacius alludes. Or does he make a mistake as in 1.4, where the author confuses Plautus with Varro?
- 9.9 — *Glabrities*: the usual form is *glabritudo*.
- *Plumea mollities manus*: Apuleius mentions a “plumeam... cutem” (*met.* 3,14).
- 9.10 — *Eaedem umbrae obvolitant*: *volitare* is often said of *umbrae* (or another term referring to ghosts or spirits), e.g. *Lucr.* 4,38; *Petron.* frg. 30,1; *Verg. Aen.* 6,329. *Obvolitare* is far less common.
- 10.1 — *magisque eam meticulosam rem... quam ad iudicem ire*: cfr. *Plaut. Most.* 1101.
- 10.4 — *Magnis excidisse ausubus*: cfr. *Ov. met.* 2,329.
- 10.6 — *Dictum factum*: proverbial expression.

- *Argutis digitis*: the same quality was ascribed to Psyche's hands in 8.8 ("argutis-simis manibus").
- 10.7 — *Ex eo cor amoris igne exarsit*: now the hero himself experiences the inner warmth of which he was told as a child (2.6).
- 10.11 — *Adversa certaminis potiora ... quam omnino non certavisse*: cfr. Sall. *orat. Macr.* 4.
- 10.12 — *Suaviis distero*: cfr. Petron. 24: "eum basiis distrivit".
- 11.3 — *Sequiores ... sexum*: cfr. Apul. *met.* 7,8; 10,23.
- 11.4 — *Inaniis*: the word *inaniae* was formed by Plautus from the adjective *inanis*, in analogy with *araneae* (*Aul.* 84); cfr. 15.3; 24.3.
 - *Quicquid in iis agebam, non agebam*: vague reminiscence of Plaut. *Persa* 650 "age, si quid agis".
- 11.5 — *Pleraque in ore, quae tamen ... dicta*: Fornacius alludes to the well known verse of the New Testament: "ex abundantia enim cordis os loquitur". (Vulg. *Matth.* 12,34).
 - *Ignorantiae asylum*: the origin of this adage is unclear.
- 12.2 — *Grandisonans*: the usual form is *grandisonus*.
 - "*Loquere ...*", *aiebat ... Socrates*: the origin of this saying could not be traced.
- 12.3 — *Affaniis*: this Apuleian word (*met.* 9,10 and 10,10), listed in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* as *afannae*, also occurs in Lipsius's Menippean satire, *Somnium* (*Ad Lect.* and *Douzae Eleg.* 2) (edd. Mattheeussen - Heesakkers, pp. 26 and 30). Fornacius uses it again in the very last sentence of the *Amator ineptus* (24.3).
- 13.1 — *Non rapidi fluenti instar*: we find a similar metaphor in Cicero's "quasi sedatus amnis" (*orat.* 39).
- 13.3 — *De pace, de bello*: unfortunately, this "information" is too vague to know more about the author's identity, as the first half of the Seventeenth Century was quite a turbulent time.
 - *Patria nostra*: probably France (cfr. pp. 246-248).
 - *Curtius*: Q. Curtius Rufus (1st or 2nd c. A.D.) wrote ten books of *Historiae Alexandri Magni Macedonis*.
 - *Mirabar sermonem saporis non publici. Videbam eum esse qui ... amaret.*: cfr. Petron. 3.
 - *Iovis cerebro*: the expression *Iovis cerebrum* indicates "a refined dish", "a delicacy", like in Enn. frg. var. 40 (Apul. *apol.* 39). In this context, it means that rival #1 handled a refined vocabulary.
- 13.5 — *Quin omnes ... sciant*: cfr. Hor. *sat.* 1,4,36-38.
- 13.7 — *Ni Aristotelem, Platonem ...*: a medieval tradition tells that Aristotle was ridden by a woman (cfr. H. Rosenfeld, "Aristoteles und Phillis" in *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie*, 89 (1970), 321-336 (pp. 321-323)).
- 13.12 — *Simia, ... Proteus eris*: all those creatures are, in a certain way, variable,

changing, capricious. The deity Proteus had the ability of taking on any form he wanted ... Similarly, a lover has to adapt to the wishes of his beloved.

Cfr. Hor. *epist.* 1,1,90 “mutantem Protea”; Erasmus, *Adagia* II,ii,74 “Proteo mutabilior”.

- *Puerum totis Athenis imperitare*: cfr. Plu. *Them.* 18,7. Themistocles jokingly claimed, so Plutarch reports, that his son was the most powerful amongst the Greeks. The Greeks were commanded by the people of Athens; Athens was commanded by Themistocles, Themistocles by the mother of his child and finally the mother herself by her son.
- 14.1 — *Capite iam nudo ... silices atterente*: the elegance of his bowing is completely lost through his exaggerated gestures.
- 14.3 — *Ad Sauromatas profligare*: the Sauromatae, a Slavonic warrior tribe, lived from the *Vistula* (Weichsel) to the *Danuvius* (Donau), in today's Poland and U.S.S.R. Fornacius hereby designates a remote and barren place, and may have thought of Ovid's exile; that author repeatedly mentions the inhospitable land of the Sauromatae (*trist.* 3,3,5-6; 3,10,5 *et alibi*).
- 14.5 — *Demissis manibus ... fugere*: cfr. Plaut. *Epid.* 452; the *senex* is Periphanes, one of the characters in Plautus's comedy.
- 14.7 — *Spississimum ex fulgore fumum dedit*: cfr. Hor. *ars* 143.
- 14.8 — *Nugacissimus ille bipedum*: an echo of Apul. *met.* 4,10 “omnium bipedum nequissimus”.
- *Ei similis erat, qui ...*: Fornacius must allude to a commonly known joke of his time.
- 14.9 — *Somnium hesternum narrat*: for this episode, Fornacius is clearly inspired by Theophrastus's description of garrulity (*Char.* 3,3). Theophrastus himself is named in 16.5.
- *Quotus dies mensis esset*: cfr. Thphr. *Char.* 3,5.
- *Castalium*: most probably a fictitious place name, derived from “Castalia”, the spring dedicated to the Muses.
- *Ex Hispanico corio*: Spanish leather was also applied to make luxurious ladies' gloves (cfr. G. Mongrédien, *La Vie quotidienne sous Louis XIV*, *La Vie Quotidienne* (Paris, 1948²⁴), p. 77). The picture which the author draws of this man is clearly that of a dandy.
- 14.11 — *Patrio sermone*: most probably French.
- 14.12 — *Salienti supercilio*: cfr. Plaut. *Pseud.* 107.
- 14.14 — *Cantilenas dulces et comoediam facetissimam*: music and literature were favourite pastimes of the upperclass. A similar situation occurs, for example, in *The Taming of the Shrew* by Shakespeare (1564-1616) — the play dates from 1595 — where Lucentio disguises himself as a teacher of the arts, to court his beloved Bianca (Act 1, Scene 1).

- 14.16 — *Haec ego magis ... callum callet*: Plaut. *Persa* 305.
 — *Neque unquam olitori supplico*: cfr. Plaut. *Mil.* 193.
 In Plautus's *Miles gloriosus* this expression means that, if a woman has something malicious in mind, she will not buy the herbs she needs for a magic potion from the grocer's, but she will get them from her own garden. Here, rival # 2 says that he does not get his means to court a girl from elsewhere: his own words and talking make him succesful with the ladies.
- 14.19 — *Ballio*: the name of a good-for-nothing in Plautus's *Pseudolus*.
- 14.20 — *Apud fustitudinas ... incursant boves*: cfr. Plaut. *Asin.* 34-35.
- 15.1 — *Si Persei parmam revelasses*: Fornacius alludes to the myth of Perseus killing Medusa. Whoever glanced at this monster, was petrified on the spot. Perseus though, looking at the reflection in his bronze shield, waited until the beast went to sleep, and then chopped off its horrible head (cfr. Ov. *met.* 6,776-804).
 — *Agmine facto*: cfr. Verg. *Aen.* 1,82; 1,434 = *georg.* 4,167; *Aen.* 8,595.
- 15.3 — *Qui ex stercore Ennii aurum legissent*: cfr. Donatus Auctus, Interpolatio 200 (on Virgil): "Quom Ennium in manu haberet rogareturque, quidnam faceret, respondit se aurum colligere de stercore Ennii". (Vergil. *Landleben: Bucolica, Georgica, Catalepton* ed. J. u. M. Götte / *Vergil-Viten* ed. K. Bayer, Tusculum Bücherei (Würzburg, 1970), p. 364).
 — *Ita in eodem prato ... canis leporem*: cfr. Sen. *epist.* 108,29.
 — *Quod ex homine ... valet unicum*: cfr. Plin. *nat.* 8,100: meant are the "excrementa hominis". According to Pliny, the barbarians hunt for panthers with pieces of poisoned meat. When these animals are in danger of suffocating after having eaten such meat, they cure themselves with human excrement. So, *morsus* in this context has a more general significance ("harm", "injury") than just "bite".
 — *Talibus ... oppletus erat*: cfr. Plaut. *Aul.* 84 (cfr. note on "inaniis" in 11.4).
- 15.4 — *Nugamenta*: an Apuleian term (*met.* 1,25).
- 15.5 — *A talo ad verticem*: cfr. Hor. *epist.* 2,2,4: "talos a vertice pulcher ad imos".
 — *Iunonis avem*: it was the peacock that was dedicated to Juno.
- 15.6 — *Ille ... punctum omne ferat. ... utile dulci miscere*: cfr. Hor. *ars* 343.
- 16.1 — *Me domum perduxit*: cfr. Thphr. *Char* 7,6 "καὶ τοὺς ἀπιέναι φάσκοντας δεινὸς προπέμψαι εἰς τὰς οἰκίας".
 — *Quae si non alia est ... Pythagoras iubeo*: it is unclear to what text Fornacius here alludes.
- 16.2 — *Vinum vetus propinasse, nisi ... comicus putasset*: cfr. Plaut. *Cas.* 5.
- 16.3 — *Aurea ... saecula*: cfr. Verg. *Aen.* 6,792 *et alios*.
 The theme of the Golden Age was a topos in Classical literature, that became very popular in the Renaissance (cfr. W.L. Grant, "A Classical Theme in Neo-Latin", *Latomus* 16 (1957), pp. 690-706). Maybe Fornacius also bore Theophrastus's garrulous character in mind who claimed that people are nowadays inferior to those of earlier times (*Char.* 3,3).
 — *Nunc veluti pecora ...*: cfr. Sall. *Catil.* 1,1.

- 16.4 — *Ab Hectore lapidem sublatum* ...: cfr. Hom. *Il.* 12,445-449.
- 16.5 — *Theophrastum*: Theophrastus of Eresis (372-287 B.C.), successor to Aristotle, wrote amongst other things, the *Characters*, to the third of which ("Garrulity") Fornacius more than once refers.
- 16.6 — *Nugivenduli*: diminutive formed upon *nugivendus*, a *varia lectio* for *nugigerulus* in Plaut. *Aul.* 525 (cfr. Non. p. 211).
- 16.7 — *Non mens, non corpus sanum*: allusion to the famous adage "mens sana in corpore sano" (Iuv. 10,356). Another allusion is to be found in 17.9.
- 17.1 — *Non tam in proclivi ... quando pluit*: cfr. Plaut. *Capt.* 336.
- 17.2 — *Adblandita sunt*: this composed form of *blandiri* is rather rare in Classical literature.
- 17.3 — *Liquidior eram quam ventus Favonius*: cfr. Plaut. *Mil.* 665.
- 17.5 — *Comam ornare pergit*: ladies wore their hair put up according to the season's fashion. The hair-do was only complete when ornamented with jewelry and abundantly powdered (cfr. *Elseviers Kostuumgids*, pp. 47,51 and E. Magne, *La Vie quotidienne au temps de Louis XIII*, *La Vie Quotidienne* (Paris, 1942), p. 72).
- 17.6 — *Saevissimam mulierem esse*: cfr. Iuv. 10,328.
- 17.8 — *Etiam ante Batonem nata*: there are several persons in Ancient History with the name Bato or Baton (cfr. *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Neue Bearbeitung, hrsg. v. G. Wissowa, III (Stuttgart, 1899), s.v. Baton). To whom the author refers, is uncertain. He may allude to two rebellion leaders from the beginning of our era: from such men one can except spicy language, as Psyche herself now utters.
At any rate, Fornacius does not allude, as we might be inclined to think, to Plut. *Mor.* 55c, where we read an anecdote about a writer of comedies called Bato; the *lectio* is a nineteenth-century conjecture.
— *Noctium ... occursaculis et ... terriculamentis*: cfr. Apul. *apol.* 64.
- 17.9 — *Quid ... insana mente?*: cfr. note on "Non mens sana, non corpore sanum" in 16.7.
- 18.1 — *Placuit liberiori caelo ... refocillare*: the connection between emotions and nature is very common in literature; it is a *topos* which E.R. Curtius calls "Naturanrufung" (*Europäische Literatur und Lateinisches Mittelalter*, pp. 101-104).
— *Vallium lubrica ... loca*: cfr. Apul. *met.* 1,2.
— *Amoenissimus ... locus*: this is, indeed, a description of a "locus amoenus" (E.R. Curtius, *Europäische Literatur*, pp. 202-206): the meadow ("roscida caespitum loca"), the trees ("altae arbores") and the scent of the flowers ("flores") near the murmuring creek ("amnis pellucidus"; "leni susurro") evoke an idyllic landscape.
- 18.4 — *Ad gloriam grassor*: cfr. Sall. *Iug.* 1,3.

- 18.5 — *Eam laudem ... tribui*: cfr. Cic. *epist.* 5,12,7; 15,6,1: “laudari ... a laudato viro” (ex Naevio trag. 15).
- 18.7 — *Aut luscinae ... aut leones*: Fornacius recalls a passage from Seneca’s *epistulae* (76,9) which discusses the difference between man and animal. The nightingale, the lion and peacock are mentioned by Seneca. However, Fornacius uses the feminine “luscina” instead of Seneca’s “luscinii” (masculine plural). The satirist ridicules the text by adding “rosae” to the list and writing another enumeration consisting of all kinds of trifles.
- 18.9 — *Si, ut in prophetis ... digladiarentur*: cfr. Vulg. *Is.* 4,1.
- 18.11 — *Ut communes essent ... uxores*: cfr. Plato *Resp.* 5,457.
— *Efflictim amando*: cfr. Plaut. *Amph.* 517.
- 19.2 — *Heraclitica*: derivation from “Heraclitus”. Fornacius makes an allusion to Seneca (*dial.* 4,10,5): Heraclitus wept when he saw how many people lead bad lives (“miserias”), but he also pitied those who lived merrily (“ineptias”).
— *priori*: viz. the former infirmity of the girl (the wart on her nose).
- 19.4 — *Ubi singula mirabar*: the young lady shows Amatus a collection of rarities. It was very fashionable in those days to collect all sorts of curiosities and then show them to one’s friends and hosts (cfr. J. Baltrušaitis, *Anamorphoses ou Thaumaturgus opticus*, Idées et Recherches (Paris, 1984), p. 26).
— *Vitrum illi lambunt, pultem non attingunt*: probably a pseudo-proverb, close to the French “tourner autour du pot”, which also exists in Dutch.
- 19.5 — *Optices studio*: Fornacius describes an anamorphosis. The distorted drawing of which is spoken in this chapter, must have had a high frame around it, so that the picture appeared, as it were, on the bottom of a box. The hole (“foramen”), through which the drawing, seen from the right perspective, became visible in its normal proportions, was either in the side of the frame or in a wooden board to be attached on top of the frame.
In the Seventeenth Century, anamorphosis was brought to the public’s attention by a group of French (!) mathematicians. One of them was Jean-François Nicéron (1613-1646), whose book on anamorphoses, *La Perspective curieuse*, was published in 1638. In 1646 a posthumous and enlarged edition was printed, this time under the title *Thaumaturgus opticus* (cfr. F. Leeman/J. Elffers/M. Schuyt, *Anamorfosen. Een spel met waarneming, schijn en werkelijkheid* (Köln, 1975), p. 104).
- 20.3 — *Ab equabus ad asinas descendere*: vague reminiscence of Plaut. *Aul.* 235: “ab asinis ad boves transcendere”.
- 20.4 — *Centone*: the *cento* consists of two parts, the first being a selection from Hor. *carm.* 1,27 and the second quoting the first verses of Catull, *carmen* 43.
- 20.5 — *Glycerio*: the name of this ugly young lady occurs only once — as did the name of rival # 2, Ballio (14.19). Fornacius has probably borrowed it from a character in Terence’s *Andria*.
- 21.1 — *Sauream*: “Saurea” is a slave’s name in Plautus’s *Asinaria*.

- *Supercilium mihi saliebat*: cfr. Plaut. *Pseud.* 107; cfr. 14.12.
- *Quid sui cum amaracino?*: cfr. Gell. *praef.* 19. According to ancient belief, pigs are naturally revolted by marjoram. Therefore, this expression is used for people who have nothing to do with each other. Amatus imagines it is just as unthinkable that Saurea should fall in love as that a pig should bear the scent of marjoram.
- 21.2 — *Minorumque censor*: cfr. Hor. *ars* 174 “censorque minorum”.
- 21.3 — *non memorem ... se ἄνθρωπον esse*: this refers to the philosophical idea that only man amongst the living creatures walks straight and keeps his head up in order to see what is above him. We find this idea in Aristotle (*PA.* 656a) and Xenophon (*Mem.* 1,4,11).
- 21.4 — *Nunquam fuisset mane videndus*: cfr. Iuv. 6,601. The Romans thought it a bad omen to encounter certain persons early in the morning (eunuchs, black or lame people ...) (cfr. *Juvénal. Satires*, texte établi et traduit par P. de Labriolle et F. Villeneuve, Collection des Universités de France (Paris, 1983¹²), p. 210). Fornacius implies that Saurea was so ugly that meeting him in the morning, could be considered as a bad sign for the rest of the day.
- 21.5 — *Sua sorte contento*: cfr. Hor. *sat.* 1,1,1-3.
- 21.6 — *Sorte sua contentos ... non insipidus est*: these obscure phrases probably mean that a lot of people are satisfied with their fate, either materially or emotionally. In science, however, one may never be content, one must continue searching.
- 21.7 — *Gurges vastus*: cfr. Verg. *Aen.* 1,118: “in gurgite vasto”.
- *In lubrico constitutos*: the same metaphor is to be found in Cicero’s *Orator* (98): “minimeque in lubrico versabitur et si semel constiterit, nunquam cadet”.
- 21.8 — *Qui dubitant an ... in caelis numen sit*: the *Amator ineptus* was published in the time of Doubt; the increasing success of science encouraged doubts, questions and criticism, even concerning the existence of God.
- 21.9 — *Cum papulas alienas tractat ...*: cfr. Sen. *dial.* 7,27,4.
- 22.2 — *O curas vestras! Quantum est in rebus inane!*: cfr. Pers. 1,1; cfr. note on “in rebus inane” (1.4).
- 22.4 — *Midae aures*: the ears of the Phrygian king Midas were changed into donkey’s ears by Apollo, because Midas had proclaimed the victory of Pan (or Mar-syas?) and not that of Apollo, in a contest. The king hid his ears so well that only his barber knew about them. The latter, however, confided the secret to a ditch in the earth. Later a bush of reed grew on that spot and the plants, moved by the wind, revealed the secret. Cfr. Ov. *met.* 11,146-93.
- *Post Roscium in scaena gestum effingere*: Q. Roscius Comoedus. The expression *Roscus in scaena* (cfr. Cic. *Brut.* 290) designates the perfect and ideal orator. Fornacius means that no one of the party dared perform after Saurea, who had shown himself the “perfect” entertainer.
- *Nos numerus eramus*: cfr. Hor. *epist.* 1,2,27. Saurea, though outnumbered by all the others, had proved to be better than they.

- 23.2 — *Ut olim Chiis publico vomitu...*: it is unknown to which author Fornacius alludes.
- 23.4 — *Thrasonice*: “as another Thraso”; Thraso is the name of a boasting soldier in Terence’s *Eunuchus*.
- 23.6 — *In somno*: the dream is a frequent theme in humanist satire (cfr. C.L. Heesakkers, “De eerste Neolatijnse Menippeische satire”, *Lampas* 12 (1979), 4-5, 315-339, p. 318).
- *Horreo repetens*: cfr. Verg. *Aen.* 2,204 “horresco referens”.
- 23.7 — *Nec mica salis*: cfr. Catull. 86,4.
- *Quo Chrysippus elogio porcum ornavit*: cfr. Cic. *fin.* 5,13; id. *nat. deor.* 2,64.
- 23.10 — *Vana somnia*: cfr. Verg. *Aen.* 6,283-84.

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Horatius, Q - Flaccus	<i>ars</i>	138	p. 268	(14.6)
		143	p. 293	(ad 14.7)
		174	p. 297	(ad 21.2)
		343	p. 294	(ad 15.6)
	<i>carm.</i>	1,5,4	p. 291	(ad 8.5)
		1,15,29-31	p. 268	(14.4)
		1,27	p. 296	(ad 20.4)
		1,27,11-12	p. 278	(20.4)
		1,27,14-15	p. 278	(20.4)
		1,27,16-24	p. 279	(20.4)
		2,12,25-28	p. 263	(10.12)
		3,1,1	p. 288	(ad 6.1)
		3,4,46-48	p. 272	(16.3)
		4,1,36-36	p. 251	(pro. 9)
		4,3,19	p. 289	(ad 7.6)
	<i>epist.</i>	1,1,90	p. 293	(ad 13.12)
		1,2,27	p. 297	(ad 22.4)
		1,19,37	p. 285	(ad pro. 7)
		2,2,4	p. 294	(ad 15.5)
		2,2,137	p. 286	(ad 1.5)
	<i>epod.</i>	4,1	p. 273	(16.7)
		5,74-82	p. 283	(23.6)
	<i>sat.</i>	1,1,1-3	p. 297	(ad 21.5)
		1,2,24-28	p. 280	(21.3)
		1,3,11	p. 286	(ad 1.6)
		1,3,23	p. 286	(ad 1.3)
		1,3,25-27	p. 286	(ad 1.3)
		1,3,35	p. 287	(ad 2.6)
		1,3,112	p. 286	(ad 1.3)
		1,4,17-18	p. 282	(22.5)
		1,4,36-38	p. 292	(ad 13.5)
		1,4,103-105	p. 250	(pro. 2)
		1,8,3-4	p. 287	(ad 3.2)
		1,8,37-39	p. 271	(14.6)
		1,8,46-47	p. 289	(ad 7.3)
		1,9,11-12	p. 268	(14.4)
		1,9,20-21	p. 254	(3.5)
		1,9,78	p. 288	(ad 6.4)
		1,10,72-74	p. 285	(ad pro. 11)
		2,6,1	p. 291	(ad 9.2)
Iuvenalis, D. Iunius		1,17-18	p. 266	(13.9)
		1,44	p. 262	(10.2)
		3,100-102	p. 272	(16.1)
		et 103		
		6,108-109	p. 277	(19.2)
		6,440-442	p. 274	(17.7)

		6,601	p. 297	(ad 21.4)
		10,328	p. 295	(ad 17.6)
		10,329	p. 274	(17.6)
		10,356	p. 295	(ad 16.7)
		14,34-35	p. 287	(ad 2.2)
Lipsius, Justus	<i>Somnium</i>	ad lect.	p. 292	(ad 12.3)
		epist. Scal.	p. 286	(ad. 2.1)
		Douzae	p. 292	(ad 12.3)
		Eleg. 2		
		36	p. 286	(ad 2.1)
Lucretius, T. - Carus		1,330,399,	p. 286	(ad 1.4)
		511		
		4,38	p. 291	(ad 9.10)
Macropedius, Georgius	<i>Andrisca</i>	vs. 199	p. 288	(ad 7.1)
Martialis, M. Valerius		4,42,10	p. 291	(ad 8.4)
Martianus M.F. Capella		4,327 vs. 10	p. 286	(ad 1.5)
Nicéron, J.-F.	<i>La Perspective curieuse</i>		p. 296	(ad 19.5)
Nonius Marcellus		p. 211	p. 295	(ad 16.6)
Oakes, Urian	<i>1672 Commencement Address</i>		p. 289	(ad 7.2)
Ovidius, P. - Naso	<i>am.</i>	3,3,9	p. 291	(ad 8.3)
		3,14,23	p. 291	(ad 8.4)
	<i>ars</i>	1,1-2	p. 266	(13.8)
		1,575-578	p. 267	(13.11)
		1,595-596	p. 270	(14.15)
		1,663-664	p. 266	(13.10)
		1,667-668	p. 266	(13.10)
		2,199-202	p. 267	(13.11)
		2,219-222	p. 267	(13.11)
		3,200	p. 291	(ad 8.4)
	<i>met.</i>	1,499	p. 291	(ad 8.3)
		2,329	p. 291	(ad 10.4)
		2,749	p. 291	(ad 8.5)
		6,472-473	p. 286	(ad 1.4)
		6,776-804	p. 294	(ad 15.1)
		8,681	p. 288	(ad 4.4)
		11,127	p. 288	(ad 4.4)
		11,146-193	p. 297	(ad 22.4)
	<i>trist.</i>	3,3,5-6	p. 293	(ad 14.3)
		3,10,5	p. 295	(ad 14.3)
Persius, A. - Flaccus		1,1	p. 286	(ad 1.4)
			p. 297	(ad 22.2)
		1,12	p. 287	(ad 3.7)
		5,53	p. 252	(1.3)
		5,117	p. 287	(ad 3.3)
Petronius Arbiter		3	p. 292	(ad 13.3)
		24	p. 292	(ad 10.12)

		27	p. 289	(ad 7.8)
		75	p. 290	(ad 7.9)
		88	p. 286	(ad 1.5)
		105	p. 290	(ad 7.11)
		126	p. 291	(ad 8.3)
		132	p. 262	(10.8)
		140	p. 288	(ad 4.4)
		<i>frg.</i> 30,1	p. 291	(ad 9.10)
		<i>frg.</i> 30,1-5	p. 284	(23.8)
		<i>frg.</i> 30,16 <i>et</i> 15	p. 261	(9.10)
Piccolomini, Enea Silvio	<i>epist.</i>	I, p. 355	p. 291	(ad 8.4)
Plato	<i>Resp.</i>	5,457	p. 296	(ad 18.11)
Plautus, T. Maccius	<i>Amph.</i>	393	p. 290	(ad 7.9)
		517	p. 296	(ad 18.11)
	<i>Asin.</i>		p. 296	(ad 21.1)
		34-35	p. 294	(ad 14.20)
		223	p. 291	(ad 8.8)
	<i>Aul.</i>	50	p. 286	(ad 1.6)
		84	p. 292	(ad 11.4)
		id.	p. 294	(ad 15.3)
		235	p. 296	(ad 20.3)
		525	p. 295	(ad 16.6)
		(Non. p. 211)		
	<i>Bacch.</i>	821	p. 290	(ad 7.10)
	<i>Capt.</i>	336	p. 295	(ad 17.1)
	<i>Cas.</i>	5	p. 294	(ad 16.2)
	<i>Curc.</i>	55	p. 287	(ad 2.2)
	<i>Epid.</i>	452	p. 293	(ad 14.5)
	<i>Mil.</i>	193	p. 294	(ad 14.16)
		236	p. 287	(ad 2.4)
		316	p. 290	(ad 7.10)
		665	p. 295	(ad 17.3)
	<i>Most.</i>	1101	p. 291	(ad 10.1)
	<i>Persa</i>	42	p. 287	(ad 3.6)
		305	p. 294	(ad 14.16)
		650	p. 292	(ad 11.4)
	<i>Pseud.</i>		p. 294	(ad 14.19)
		107	p. 293	(ad 14.12)
		id.	p. 297	(ad 21.1)
Plinius, C. - Secundus Maior	<i>nat.</i>	2,107	p. 288	(ad 7.1)
		2,239	p. 287	(ad 2.6)
		8,100	p. 294	(ad 15.3)
		11,8	p. 290	(ad 8.3)
Plinius, C. - Secundus Minor	<i>epist.</i>	8,19,1	p. 288	(ad 6.4)

Plinius, Basilius	<i>Encomium inclitae civitatis Rigae metropolis Livoniae</i>	vs. 642	p. 290	(ad 7.11)
Plutarchus	<i>Mor.</i>	55c	p. 295	(ad 17.8)
	<i>Them.</i>	18,7	p. 293	(ad 13.12)
Shakespeare, William	<i>The Taming of the Shrew</i>	Act 1, Scene 1	p. 293	(ad 14.14)
Sallustius, C. - Crispus	<i>Catil.</i>	1,1	p. 294	(ad 16.3)
		58,17	p. 290	(ad 7.9)
	<i>Iug.</i>	1,3	p. 295	(ad 18.4)
		7,5	p. 288	(ad 3.8)
	<i>orat. Macr.</i>	4	p. 292	(ad 10.11)
Seneca, L. Annaeus	<i>benef.</i>	35,2	p. 286	(ad 1.5)
	<i>dial.</i>	4,10,5	p. 296	(ad 19.2)
		7,27,4	p. 297	(ad 21.9)
		10,3,1	p. 286	(ad 1.6)
	<i>epist.</i>	76,9	p. 296	(ad 18.7)
		108,29	p. 294	(ad 15.3)
	<i>Herc. f.</i>	170	p. 288	(ad 6.1)
	<i>Phaedra</i>	279-280	p. 252	(1.6)
	<i>Thy.</i>	401-403	p. 251	(pro. 6)
Statius, P. Papinius	<i>Silvae</i>	2,2,123	p. 288	(ad 6.1)
Tacitus, C. Cornelius	<i>Germ.</i>	45	p. 288	(ad 5.5)
Terentius, P. - Afer	<i>Eun.</i>		p. 298	(ad 23.4)
		348	p. 288	(ad 6.3)
		1087	p. 285	(ad pro. 8)
Theophrastus	<i>Char.</i>		p. 295	(ad 16.5)
		3,3	p. 294	(ad 16.3)
		id.	p. 293	(ad 14.9)
		3,5	p. 293	(ad 14.9)
		7,6	p. 294	(ad 16.1)
Tibullus, Albius		1,8,11	p. 291	(ad 8.4)
Varro, M. Terentius	<i>men.</i>	134	p. 287	(ad 3.6)
		482	p. 252	(1.4)
Vergilius, P. - Maro	<i>Aen.</i>	1,82	p. 294	(ad 15.1)
		1,118	p. 297	(ad 21.7)
		1,434	p. 294	(ad 15.1)
		2,204	p. 298	(ad 23.6)
		2,774 = 3,48	p. 256	(5.2)
		2,794 = 6,702	p. 258	(7.7)
		4,118-119	p. 289	(ad 7.7)
		4,569-570	p. 288	(ad 6.1)
		4,585	p. 289	(ad 7.7)
		5,344	p. 259	(8.1)
		6,129-130	p. 287	(ad 2.2)
		6,283-284	p. 298	(ad 23.10)

		6,329	p. 291	(ad 9.10)
		6,469	p. 262	(10.8)
		(cfr. 1,482)		
		6,792	p. 294	(ad 16.3)
		8,456	p. 289	(ad 7.7)
		8,595	p. 294	(ad 15.1)
		9,460	p. 289	(ad 7.7)
		12,606	p. 291	(ad 8.4)
		12,900	p. 272	(16.4)
	<i>ecl.</i>	3,93	p. 287	(ad 3.3)
		4,49	p. 271	(15.5)
	<i>georg.</i>	1,447	p. 289	(ad 7.7)
		1,497	p. 273	(16.4)
		4,167	p. 294	(ad 15.1)
Vulgata	<i>Is.</i>	4,1	p. 296	(ad 18.9)
	<i>Matth.</i>	12,34	p. 292	(ad 11.5)
Xenophon	<i>Mem.</i>	1,4,11	p. 297	(ad 21.3)

A M A T U S
F O R N A C I U S

A M A T O R
I N E P T U S.



P A L L A D I I,
M D C X X X I I I.

3

HIPPOPHILO
CANVSIO

Amatus Fornacius S.D.

SCRIPTUM *tibi non vulgare
offero, & forsan sine exem-
plo. In enarrandâ laude
suâ prôptos sat plures invenias;
at, ut quis sui dedecoris æternam
famam quærat, id verò perrarū
est. Nescio quâ genij malignitate
is sim, cui nihil minus placeat,
quã meum, aliena semper stupori
sint.* --- Liberius si

Dixero quid, si fortè jocosius,
hoc mihi juris

Cum venia dabis.

*Non quod alterius velato nomi-
ne existimationem ullo pacto læ-
serim; sed ut condones, si impe-
gero in vulgatum illud*

--- nec te culpaveris ipse.

A 2

Malui

Avelina CARRERA DE LA RED

LATINIDAD E ILUSTRACIÓN EN EL *DIARIO PINCIANO* DE J.M. BERISTAIN

Uno de los calificativos que con mayor frecuencia se aplica al mundo intelectual del siglo XVIII en España y en casi toda Europa es el de “reformista”. En efecto, esta centuria conoce, como pocas, la renovación de sus esquemas básicos, impulsada por una serie de intelectuales que persiguen la transformación de la sociedad como meta esencial de su actividad humana.

Buen representante de esta nueva mentalidad iba a ser José Mariano Beristain, ambicioso y dinámico eclesiástico que en 1786 llegaba a Valladolid por segunda vez, como catedrático de Instituciones teológicas, decidido a emprender la edición de un semanario.

La justa valoración de la importancia y significado de este proyecto sólo es posible si se considera el contexto ideológico que lo envuelve (en discusión aún entre los modernos estudiosos de aquel siglo), definido, en términos generales, por el enfrentamiento entre el general conformismo heredado de la centuria precedente y el afán de reforma y regeneración procedente de una minoría culta, con el amplio y profundo debate sociológico que ello lleva consigo. Entre los diferentes flancos abiertos en la batalla, serán el de la educación en general, y el de la enseñanza, en particular, los que merezcan especial atención para el *Diarista* (tal y como ocurre en la inmensa mayoría de sus contemporáneos). Si en todo momento histórico la interrelación entre educación y sociedad es decisiva para la configuración de una civilización, en los ilustrados del XVIII europeo tal interrelación se convierte en una unidad indisoluble. La “embriaguez de saber” se apodera de ellos y, como consecuencia, se persigue la creación de un sistema educativo que canalice y haga operativa la *nueva cultura*, esencia de esa nueva visión del hombre y del mundo que domina su mentalidad.

Se trata de ayudar a los modernos en el progreso y desarrollo de sus posibilidades; ¿qué papel puede jugar en ello el latín, o mejor dicho, la

latinidad, ese bagaje de contenidos de toda índole que en esta lengua recibe Occidente de la tradición? El análisis de las escasas reflexiones que sobre el tema se han realizado produce la impresión de que este papel debía de ser prácticamente nulo. Se insiste, creemos que en exceso, en el triunfo de las ciencias “utilitarias” sobre las “intelectuales” y en el espíritu práctico, pragmático de los hombres del XVIII, opuestos sistemáticamente a todo aquello que signifique “inútil” especulación o abstracción teórica.

A la espera de un estudio de conjunto sobre la situación del latín en el siglo XVIII español, nos fijamos en las noticias que ofrecen quienes al presentar el panorama cultural del siglo se refieren a ella, de forma más o menos directa¹. A modo de síntesis, y en un intento de localizar en su contexto la presencia del latín en el *Diario Pinciano*, señalamos los aspectos que en este sentido consideramos de mayor relevancia a nuestro propósito.

Pocos intelectuales consideran la lengua latina materia de estudio importante o, al menos, necesaria. Generalmente la sustituyen las lenguas modernas como objeto de aplicación retórica, poética o gramatical. Incluso la búsqueda de una lengua universal se realiza ahora, como nunca, entre éstas. Tradicionalmente asociado a las carreras eclesiástica, jurídica y médica, el estudio del latín empieza a postergarse definitivamente frente a asignaturas más “útiles”. La expulsión de los jesuitas (1767) supone el aparente destierro de su *Ratio studiorum*, sistema pedagógico que durante algo más de una centuria dominaría los centros escolásticos, con las lenguas clásicas como base y fundamento del *curriculum*, por su propia belleza, elegancia y perfección, y como vehículo de esenciales contenidos, fundamentales para la completa formación, humana y cristiana, del alumno. Sea por su real atrofiaamiento tras más de un siglo de aplicación, sea por lo que de continuidad representaba respecto a la etapa anterior, lo cierto es que los ilustrados ministros de Carlos III arremeten contra ella en su revisión pedagógico-cultural. Se deplora entonces el empleo del latín hablado en las escuelas (tal como hicieran dos siglos antes Sánchez de Las Brozas y tantos otros); se denuncian por trasnochados los métodos didácticos,

¹ Cf., entre otros, J. Sarrailh, *La España Ilustrada de la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII* (Trad. esp. A. Alatorre), (Madrid, F.C.E., 1979); F. Lázaro Carreter, *Las ideas lingüísticas en España durante el siglo XVIII* (Barcelona, Crítica, 1985, 2ª ed.); L. Gil Fernández, *Paralelo social del humanismo español (1500-1800)* (Madrid, Alhambra, 1981).

escasamente revisados en una centuria; se critica la excesiva restricción de las aplicaciones de esta lengua.

Como contrapartida, una importante (que no numerosa) serie de eruditos proponen soluciones a la innegable decadente situación de la enseñanza del latín y sitúan la filología o la actividad lingüística en la base de su enciclopedismo, formulaciones pedagógicas y elaboración científica; para instaurar la verdadera ciencia, dicen, se ha de “enmendar en todo el estado de la latinidad y de las letras todas (que dependen de aquélla) en España (...)”². En base a motivaciones pragmáticas o meramente teóricas, sistematizan su propia jerarquía de lenguas, colocando en la cima el *buen latín* y el *buen romance*. Hablamos de Martí, Mayans o quienes como ellos analizan la función de estos sistemas lingüísticos en los diferentes registros de expresión y conceden a la que fuera lengua del Lacio un puesto privilegiado en la práctica culta (comunicación internacional, difusión bibliográfica, acceso a cualquier ciencia), reconociéndole un elevado papel en la tan deseada restauración cultural, con una actitud que, a menudo, se compara a la de los humanistas del Renacimiento³.

Veamos de qué forma se refleja esta actitud precisamente en el *Diario Pinciano*, cuyo autor (al igual que la mayor parte de los periodistas del XVIII español) pertenece a esa facción de intelectuales que, al elaborar su obra, “se sitúan en el punto de confluencia con el gran público”⁴.

Beristain expone desde el Plan del *Diario* los objetivos que con su edición se ha propuesto. “Poner a la vista de los que respectivamente tienen obligación y autoridad de enmendarlos” los defectos más notables en cualquier materia, “opuestos al adelantamiento de la literatura, á la pureza y decoro de la Religion, y á la inocencia, y honestidad de las costumbres”⁵ podría ser su formulación general.

Entre las diversas tendencias que conoce la prensa del siglo XVIII, el

² Andrés Marcos Burriel, *Epistolario Mayans y Burriel*. Ed. E. Mestre (Valencia, 1972), pág. 170 (cit. por J. Gutiérrez Cuadrado, “Mayans y la lengua de la ciencia”, *Mayans y la Ilustración* (Valencia, 1981), pág. 320).

³ Cf. J. Sarrailh, “La fe en la cultura”, *op. cit.*, págs. 155-174; J. Gutiérrez Cuadrado, *art. cit.*, págs. 155-174; A. Tovar, “Mayans y la Filología en España en el siglo XVIII”, *Mayans y la Ilustración*, ed. cit., págs. 379-408.

⁴ L.M. Enciso Recio, *Nipho y el periodismo español del siglo XVIII* (Valladolid, 1956), pág. 3.

⁵ J.M. Beristain, *Diario Pinciano. Primer periódico de Valladolid (1787-88)*. Estudio preliminar C. Almuiña Fernández (Valladolid, 1978, 2ª rep. facs.), pág. 8. En adelante, citaremos por esta edición.

Diario Pinciano se adscribe a la que representan los periódicos “literarios” y “cultos”, especialmente numerosos entre 1770 y 1808. Lugar destacado en la obra, por su extensión e importancia, ocupa la Parte Literaria en la que se dedica a recoger “los ejercicios diarios de la Real Universidad, Reales Academias, Colegios, Cuerpos, y demás Profesores de Letras (...), extractandose para la utilidad comun, y para gusto de los curiosos los Discursos, Disertaciones, y demás Papeles instructivos, que en los referidos Cuerpos se formen, lean ó publiquen” (pág. 7). Es ésta la única Parte que, como ha señalado Celso Almuiña⁶, pervive en medio de los avatares a los que se vio sometida la publicación, y aquella que le causó mayores problemas. Parece que la crítica que en ella realiza de la lengua que se empleaba en los diferentes Actos académicos suponía algo más que una mera cuestión de forma y estilo.

En el ámbito universitario, queda constancia del *status* del romance como lengua de uso con pleno derecho en estas actividades⁷; sin embargo, es evidente la preeminencia aún de la lengua clásica, fundamentalmente en los terrenos de medicina, derecho y teología, los más atendidos por el diarista (y, también, los de mayor arraigo en nuestra Universidad). Así, buena parte de los juicios que presenta giran en torno a la lengua y el estilo que los actuantes de las famosas “conclusiones” muestran en sus “dedicatorias”⁸—asimismo, se refiere a intervenciones para la obtención del Grado de Licenciado, oposiciones de acceso a una Cátedra, o, simplemente, disertaciones científicas sobre temas diversos—. Se trata, por tanto, de cuestiones relativas al empleo del más acertado *uso oral y escrito* del latín en el marco intelectual vallisoletano del siglo XVIII.

De los textos latinos que Beristain ofrece (verdad es que no excesiva-

⁶ Estudio preliminar, ed. cit., págs. 41-44.

⁷ Dedicatorias en castellano: II, págs. 116 y 132. En los métodos gramaticales se buscaba la definitiva entrada de la lengua romance (cf. referencia a la *Sintaxis latina* en seguidillas del Dr. Guerra, págs. 129-130). Se reseña la aparición de traducciones de clásicos (Salustio, pág. 415). El mismo compone su *Bibliotheca Mexicana* en castellano, porque considera “que no era ya tiempo de hacer tal agravio a la lengua castellana” (*Diccionario de Historia Eclesiástica de España*, C.S.I.C., Madrid, 1972, I, pág. 242). Para la relación del latín y el romance en este siglo, cf. F. Lázaro, *op. cit.*, págs. 145-207.

⁸ Uno de los aspectos más denostados del sistema pedagógico heredado del siglo anterior van a ser esta clase de actuaciones públicas de los estudiantes, en las que se argumentaba en latín siguiendo el método escolástico sobre las más variadas cuestiones, en un turno de intervenciones entre condiscípulos que frecuentemente degeneraba en algarabía. Cf. L. Gil Fernández, *op. cit.*, págs. 154-156.

mente numerosos en comparación con el número de ellos a los que menciona), así como de sus más frecuentes referencias teóricas al respecto, se infiere su criterio acerca del buen estilo latino, en el que destacamos, en primer lugar, la consideración que de éste hace como “flor y quinta esencia de las *bellas Letras*, ó *Humanidades!*” (pág. 19), con una terminología acuñada precisamente entre los humanistas del Renacimiento, grandes restauradores de la latinidad histórica, tras lo que ellos mismos contemplaban como decadencia medieval⁹.

Corrección, elegancia, hermosura, sencillez, propiedad, pureza, gravedad, se oponen en sus críticas a corrupción, barbarie, descuido o exuberancia retórica:

“Con este motivo no puedo menos de decir, que serian mayores los progresos y frutos de estos Estudios, si se desterrasen los Pasantes vagabundos y clandestinos, que baxo la solapa de lastima y caridad merecen la confianza de algunos Padres de familias, y *corrompiendo la Latinidad*, propagan el *mal gusto*, y dan motivo al Diarista para declamar” (pág. 44).

“Aunque quisiera suavizar el caracter de Censor de vicios y defectos opuestos al adelantamiento de la Literatura en todos ramos, no me es licito en unas Conclusiones, que en quatro renglones de Dedicatoria tienen otros tantos, ó mas defectos de *latinidad pura*, y *propiedad*” (pág. 117).

“(…) por medio de una Carta latina, digna por la *pureza* del language, por la *propiedad* del estilo, y por la *verdad* y *gravedad* de las sentencias de tan alto y sabio Mecenaz” (pág. 195).

“Pero podré omitir la nota sobre otros defectos (ó sean descuidos) de *propiedad*, *latinidad* y *ortografia*?” (pág. 207).

La relación de Beristain con el Humanismo renacentista es evidente en este punto¹⁰, como lo es cuando considera único criterio válido en la selección de los *modelos* para hablar o escribir latín con corrección en su momento seguir el *uso* de los autores clásicos (que, a juzgar por sus

⁹ Cf. J.F. Alcina Rovira, “Poliziano y los elogios de las letras en España (1500-1540)”, *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, XXV (1976), 198-222. F. Rico, “*Laudes litterarum*. Humanismo y dignidad del hombre en la época del Renacimiento”, *Homenaje a Julio Caro Baroja* (Madrid, 1978), págs. 895-914.

¹⁰ Desde que Lorenzo Valla se pusiera en pie de guerra contra la barbarie en el prefacio a su obra capital, *Elegantiarum Linguae Latinae Libri sex* (ca. 1445; primera edición 1471), objetivo primordial de los grandes humanistas del Renacimiento va a ser recuperar la latinidad *verdadera* frente a la falsa, la de gramáticos y escolásticos medievales, destructores, con su total olvido de la belleza y elegancia clásicas, del latín y la esencia cultural que él simbolizaba.

observaciones, conocía a la perfección, señal de que la pedagogía seguida en sus centros de formación no había sido excesivamente mala, en lo que a la adquisición de esta lengua se refiere)¹¹. En base a esta norma, aparecen cuestiones gráfico-fonéticas, morfológicas, sintácticas, léxico-semánticas y estilísticas, corregidas, censuradas o alabadas. En la comparación de aquellos textos que elogia con los que rechaza por incorrectos, se observa la aplicación concreta del criterio que hemos indicado.

Así, anota como erróneas las grafías *fillio* por *filio*, *provolutus* por *provolutus*, *fortituo* por *fortuito*, *constratui* por *contractui* (pág. 207), *Haesperiae* por *Hesperiae*, *triumfantem* por *triumphantem* (o, por lo menos, *triumfantem*, “pues aunque se encuentra del tiempo de Constantino *triumfus*, la *m* nunca la ha perdido hasta que salió á luz esta Dedicatoria”), *preciosis* por *pretiosis*, *iuxtissimae* por *justissimae*, etc. (pág. 451).

Señala solecismos, como el nominativo *Contaminata* en lugar de su correspondiente dativo (pág. 81), *Abrabtis* por *Abranti* (pág. 140), *Martirae* por *Martires* (pág. 153), *velleri* por *vellere* (pág. 318), *Humanarum* por *Humaniorum* (pág. 374), *Ducissae* por *Duci*, *Principissae* por *Principi* (II, pág. 132), *altario* por *altari* (II, pág. 138), etc.

Crítica el inapropiado uso de un superlativo, colocado en lugar del grado positivo (“...graviter peccant (gravissime vero si Clerici sint) modo Comoedia (quod raro contingit) *non sit honestissima*. Ve aqui por no saber latin una Proposicion, que dice lo contrario que el Autor queria decir ...”, pág. 327); censura erróneas concordancias (“... tenga el Autor la docilidad de conocer los demás defectos, y la bondad de concordar aquel *sint potis* de la ultima clausula, con la primera persona de singular, *ego gratus ac memor*, ...”, pág. 451); señala incorrectos usos sintácticos de algunos términos (“La Dedicatoria (...) solo tiene un defecto, pero muy notable; y es que dice *Domino meo etc. in perpetuam sui memoriam etc.* debiendo decir: *Domino suo, ô in perpetuam mei memoriam*”, II, pág. 134; “como tambien el *volui divulgare*, regido del *ut*”, *ibidem*).

Insiste en el empeño por parte de algunos usuarios de la lengua latina de su momento en el empleo de términos “bárbaros”, esto es, “modernos”, “de nueva creación”, al margen del léxico conservado en los

¹¹ Bachiller en filosofía por la Universidad de México (30-VII-1772), se doctoró en teología por la Universidad de Valencia (Julio de 1776).

textos de la Antigüedad clásica, los únicos que pueden dar la medida de los componentes de este sistema; “*Objectum* es voz buena para los Filósofos de la Escuela, pero la ignoraron los Latinos; y no debe usarse por los Oradores y Poetas, ni por ninguno que quiera hablar bien la lengua del Lacio (...). La palabra *specialissimo* tampoco es latina: aun el positivo *specialis* tiene sus trabajos, pues Schoro y el Cardenal Hadriano le juzgaron *barbaro*; bien que está yà declarado por del siglo de plata, en que la usaron Asconio, Celso, Columela y Quintiliano: mas el superlativo no se conoció hasta la corrupcion de la Latinidad”, pág. 117), *gratitudo*, *Icon* (“aunque apenas se encuentra entre los Latinos, puede pasar porque lo usa Plinio ...”, pág. 153), *hancinne*, *haeccinae* (“voces que no deben usarse sin *interrogacion*”, II, pág. 134), etc.

Especial insistencia se advierte en el tratamiento estilístico que las composiciones han de presentar, con una casi diríamos obsesión por la crítica del barroquismo, la exuberancia expresiva y la desproporción retórica, en contraste con el ideal de sencillez y moderación de los grandes autores del Siglo de Oro español: “¿Será mas precioso el don de unas Conclusiones, que el de un Libro escrito en el siglo de oro de nuestra literatura?” (pág. 20). No falta la ironía a la hora de enjuiciar esta clase de dedicatorias, “retumbantes”, “cacofónicas”, “de estilo campanudo, refulgente y pyropeante”. A ella recurren por igual el Diarista y el *Duende*, crítico anónimo, satírico que por encargo del anterior valora algunas de ellas, arremetiendo contra el mal gusto o el rebuscamiento: “Es verdad que aunque yo no he visto el prototipo de esta pieza (pieza mas retumbante que un cañon de á 32) entre las Cartas de Ciceron, ni las de otro Chavacano como este *verbi gracia* de los buenos latinos, con que, como con el Coco se anda espantando à los niños de las Aulas. Pero què? si nuestra Carta mereceria por Original mayor aprecio?” (págs. 189-190), “Pero ni *tantillas* vel *minusculas* voces podrè formar en elogio de este estupendo prodigio de grandiloquencia. *Plaudite, plaudite sesquipedalia verba*: palabras resonantes, undantes, rorantes, rutilantes, radiantes, flamantes, coruscantes, tumultuantes, baccantes, y quadrupedantes” (pág. 203)¹².

¹² Del mismo tono se sirve el Diarista en la Dedicatoria que le ofrece al *Duende*: “INCLYTO, INCOGNITISSIMO HEROI OMNIUM BELLARUM ARTIUM CULTORI (...) CELEBERRIMO PUERORUM TERRORI, MULIERCULARUM PAVORI TONTORUMQUE ESPANTAGIO (...) SUUS AMICUS D.P. NON SOLUM D.O.E.C SED ETIAM A.B.F.G.H.I.J.K.L.M.N.P.Q.R.S.T.U.X. ET Z GERUNT VIRES” (pág. 191). Véase también la *Carta del Doctor N. al Doctor N. Catedratico de Filosofia en la*

Por contra, aquellos textos que califica de “bonitos”, “nobles”, “sencillos” y “hermosos” se distinguen, efectivamente, por una construcción reglada, armoniosa, cuidada, clara y adaptada en general a los más puros cánones del clasicismo estilístico. Sirva de muestra la siguiente inscripción: “*Excellentissimo atque Illustrissimo Domino, D. Augustino Rubin de Cevallos: vestusta nobilitate, et majorum gloria, singularibusque animi dotibus spectatissimo: qui studiorum curriculo faeliciter emenso, humaniores litteras, severioresque disciplinas sic celeriter complexus est, ut in ipso adolescentiae flore ad omnia prorsus comparatus videretur ...*” (II, pág. 125)¹³. El mismo orden y cuidado clásicos que se descubren en la prosa castellana, en la que sobresale su rechazo del llamado estilo *culto* y *transpirenaico*¹⁴, así como el dominio del tono que ha de observar en la composición, especialmente elaborado y culto en las Partes Histórica y Literaria (el 80 % de los cultismos y latinismos aparecen en ellas), dirigidas, supuestamente, a los más interesados en las noticias intelectuales¹⁵; relativamente “popular”, en el resto. ¿Cómo no recordar los exordios de los discursos ciceronianos al contemplar la simetría de párrafos como éste: “Por eso en todas las Capitales hay Gefes, Tribunales, Escuelas, Consulados y Milicias, que mandan, deciden, instruyen, fomentan y defienden; y que manteniendo en ellas un mismo orden, observando unas mismas Leyes, obedeciendo a un mismo Soberano, y conspirando a un mismo fin, que es la felicidad de toda la Patria, y la gloria de toda la nacion, forman la Monarquía mas bella, y el Estado mas floreciente del mundo” (pág. 1)¹⁶.

El latín, pues, sigue siendo para Beristain, la lengua de la Escuela y de la Iglesia (por delante del griego y del hebreo). “La lengua latina—

Universidad N. (II, págs. 180-182): “Señor Doctor *secundum quid*, y amigo mio *simpliciter*; he llegado de esa Ciudad *tamquam á termino á quo* á esta de Vd. *tamquam ad terminum ad quem ...*”.

¹³ Otros textos considerados por el Diarista, en págs. 194-195, 239, 241, 468 y II, 26-27.

¹⁴ “La crítica del estilo llamado *culto*, contagio que padeció nuestra Lengua es muy buena; ahora necesitábamos otra satyra contra otro estilo *transpirenaico*” (pág. 408).

¹⁵ Que los lectores de este apartado del *Diario* eran de variada condición lo muestra la Carta que le escribió al Diarista un Soldado del Regimiento de Infantería de León: “En la *P. Literaria*, aunque los mas no entienden palabra de Actos y Oposiciones, de Disertaciones y Academias, yo les he procurado explicar alguna cosa de lo que me acuerdo, aunque es muy poco; (...) pero las surras de las Dedicatorias las explicaba á la perfeccion á mis Camaradas; porque de Grammatica se me entiende algo” (II, pág. 39).

¹⁶ Otros textos de construcción especialmente cuidada, en págs. 2, 6, 7 y 9.

dice al ironizar sobre una Dedicatoria redactada en vasco—no puede ceder à la Bascuence el lugar que goza en las Escuelas, y sola ella es la que usa la Santa Iglesia, para ofrecer sus votos à Dios, y à los Santos. Y ya que se quiere huir del camino real ¿por qué no se puso la Dedicatoria en Hebreo, ó en Griego? Esto seria mas util ¿mas en Bascuence? ¡O extravagancia! ¡O pedantismo! ¡O intolerable boberia!” (pág. 164).

Se debe trabajar y componer en latín, eso sí, con corrección y elegancia¹⁷. La que fuera lengua de uso de un determinado pueblo hacía casi veinte siglos se había convertido en portadora de la esencia histórica de Occidente; sólo ella había sido capaz de superponerse al uso de los modernos como lengua de cultura, erudición y comunicación internacional, convirtiéndose de este modo para el pensamiento de Beristain y algunos de sus contemporáneos en un componente imprescindible del panorama intelectual europeo, nexo de unión, símbolo de prestigio y decoro—aún entre las damas¹⁸—, testigo “mudo, pero infalible” de su ilustración. Por ello se han de corregir “los *barbarismos*, los *solecismos*, las impropiedades, las mamarrachadas, y las pedanterías impresas en unos Papeles, que salen de la Universidad Literaria de Valladolid, que vuelan por todas las Provincias de España (¡que felicidad que no las vean los Extranjeros!)...” (pág. 19).

Como señalábamos al comienzo, no era una mera cuestión de estilo. De lo contrario, no podrían comprenderse en profundidad las polémicas y diatribas que hubo de mantener desde las páginas mismas del *Diario*, con quienes por “reparos escolástico-críticos” le acusaban de querer “resucitar à Ciceron, Cesar, Nepote, y otros autores de antaño” (pág. 135). Sabe (y así lo va a experimentar cumplidamente, habiendo incluso de suspender la publicación del periódico—bien es verdad que no por este único motivo) que la tarea no es fácil. No en vano conocía la experiencia de sus predecesores, los intelectuales humanistas del XVI

¹⁷ Beristain propugna la renovación creadora en lengua latina: “yo desearia que se olvidase ya aquel tan repetido principio de las Cartas Dedicatorias: *Fuit in more positum etc. ut qui novum aliquod opus (...) edere statueret (...) Moecenatem sibi aliquem deligeret, cui etc* (pág. 81). “(...) pero ¿es posible que no se ha de estudiar, ni discurrir otro modo de expresar los buenos conceptos?” (pág. 183).

¹⁸ “En las segundas del día 11. hay una Dedicatoria en Castellano à una Señora, que à mas de fastidiarse de que la *Señoréen* tanto, no queda ayrosa con que todo el Mundo sepa que no entiende la lengua latina, habiendo en España tantas Damas que la poseen” (pág. 128).

(citados más de una vez en el *Diario*)¹⁹, comprometidos en la recuperación del latín clásico en su prístina pureza y perfección y envueltos en conflictos de toda índole a causa de la incomprensión de aquellos que creían detentar la exclusiva intelectual (y, por ende, política, religiosa, social, ...) y temían perderla²⁰. “Mi empeño de resucitar en éstas (*las Dedicatorias*) à Ciceron, Cesar, Nepote y otros *ejusdem furfuris*, muertos à los filos de las negras plumas de los Corrompedores de la lengua latina, yà vén Vms. que no es un grano de anís” (pág. 172).

Porque esto y todo lo que significase renovación o novedad (el solo hecho de que denunciaran sus errores desde un periódico) debía de desagradar a quienes, perteneciendo a la “élite” culta del momento, temían perder su privilegiada posición en medio de tantas transformaciones como estaba buscando la temida ilustración. Precisamente, esa ilustración que conoce en Beristain dos “principales ramos”, la Industria y la Literatura (pág. 2), dualidad significativamente presente de principio a fin en la obra, donde las noticias de historia, retórica, poética, teología o filosofía se combinan con las referentes a derecho, medicina, economía, geografía, matemáticas o el mismo ejército. Todas son ciencias “útiles” y apropiadas para cualquier clase social (cuando todavía da sus últimos coletazos el secular conflicto “entre las armas y las letras”)²¹, siempre que se les proporcione a los ciudadanos una “buena educación” (sintagma reiteradamente empleado), puesta al servicio del progreso y del bien público, de la misma forma que el Diarista, haciendo frente a “censuras insolentes y personales, despreciando los tiros de la ignorancia, y animado constantemente de unas mismas ideas” (pág. 19), se dedica a dar cuenta del nivel cultural de la provincia en la que trabaja (amén de reseñar sucesos de toda índole que se producen durante los días en que escribe).

¹⁹ “Ya saben los Extrangeros que España fue Patria de los Senecas, Quintilianos y Marciales: que ha dado los Osios, Isidores y Abulenses: que embió al Concilio ultimo General los Laynes, Canos, Antonios Agustinos y Carbajales: que los Vives, los Sepulvedas, los Maldonados, los Arias Montanos: en una palabra, que los primeros Maestros de todas las Ciencias, en todas las Universidades del Mundo, y en todos los siglos de la Literatura, han sido Españoles” (pág. 3).

²⁰ Basta recordar la persecución que sufrieron quienes pretendían volver a las fuentes bíblicas para su interpretación de las Sagradas Escrituras, o la lucha para imponer nuevos métodos pedagógicos en la Universidad a lo largo del siglo XVI.

²¹ “Estas desconfianzas y recelos eran hijos de la vulgar preocupacion de que las ciencias estaban reñidas con las espadas, ó que solo florecian entre las ruinas de la Naturaleza” (pág. 276).

En definitiva, y a modo de conclusión, destacamos el importante puesto que el autor de nuestro primer diario concede al latín en su escala de valores intelectuales; como eclesiástico, sí; pero también, como ilustrado que, al igual que otros muchos, considera la aprehensión de la auténtica latinidad paso ineludible para alcanzar la anhelada reforma cultural y moral de la sociedad hispana en pleno proceso de transformación y desarrollo.

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MISCELLANEA

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NEW MANUSCRIPTS RELATED TO JOHANNES DE VERIS.

The lack of abundant documentary evidence concerning the life of Jan Van de Veren, alias Johannes de Veris¹, forced scholars to fall back on the only manuscript of Jan Van de Veren which had thus far come to light, i.e. Trier, Bischöfliches Priesterseminar Ms. 44. The late G.G. Meersseman published this manuscript extensively and called it the *Epistolarium of Jan Van de Veren*. He exhausted the textual evidence of that compendium for a reconstruction of the life of the Oudenburg schoolteacher and friend of Raphael de Mercatellis². Thanks to the publication of the index on Kristeller's *Iter Italicum*³, it is now possible to extend our knowledge of this early humanist, who was among the first to challenge the traditional use of Priscian and Donatus for grammar teaching in Flanders⁴. We would like to draw attention to two manuscripts, related to Johannes de Veris's activities, which have so far escaped scholars' attention.

¹ The only documents concerning Johannes de Veris are found in the Oudenburg archives. See E. Feys and D. Van de Castele, *Histoire d'Oudenbourg accompagnée de pièces justificatives* (Bruges, 1873), I, p. 590 & II, p. 439.

² G.G. Meersseman, "L'épistolaire de Jean Van de Veren et le début de l'humanisme en Flandres", *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, xix (1970), 119-201; Id., "La raccolta dell'umanista fiammingo Giovanni de Veris 'De arte epistolandi'", *Italia medioevale e Umanistica*, xv (1972), 215-281.

³ P.O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum. A Finding List of Uncatalogued or Incompletely Catalogued Humanistic Manuscripts of the Renaissance in Italian and Other Libraries. III. Alia Itinera: Australia to Germany* (London, 1983), pp. 713-715 & 737. *Index Compiled by B. D. Kent and R. Rainey, in Collaboration with the Author* (London, 1987).

⁴ J. IJsewijn, "The Coming of Humanism to the Low Countries", *Itinerarium Italicum. The Profile of the Italian Renaissance in the Mirror of its European Transformations. Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought*, edd H.A. Oberman and Th. A. Brady, Jr. (Leiden, 1975), pp. 241-243.

1) *Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek Ms. Novi 857*⁵.

This manuscript on paper contains two letters which also occur in the *Epistolarium*. The first one is a letter by Petrus de Monte addressed to Poggio Bracciolini (fols. 1^r-14^v)⁶, the second is an incomplete letter of Pietro Pasetti to his cousin Raphael de Mercatellis (fols. 15^v-17^v)⁷. Though the manuscript does not offer any new texts, its paleographical and codicological characteristics offer very valuable information. A later publication will deal with these features at length.

2) *Trier, Stadtbibliothek Ms 48/1004*⁸.

This manuscript on paper is much more extensive. The manuscript offers such striking codicological and paleographical analogies with the *Epistolarium*, that the link with Johannes de Veris is beyond any doubt. The manuscript joined the library of the Saint Mathias monastery together with the *Epistolarium*. Although it cannot rival the *Epistolarium* in importance for the study of Johannes de Veris's *cursus studiorum*, it contains many unedited texts, including one by Johannes de Veris himself and a grammatical treatise by a so far unrecorded Flemish author Vulfardus de Corkene. A so far unedited text, ascribed in the manuscript to Nicolas de Polonia, is also included in the compendium. The manuscript raises many questions as to where de Veris found the sources for the texts and as to the function of de Veris's manuscripts. A colophon on fol. 85^r dates that part of the manuscript to 1470 and this is the latest date connected to Johannes de Veris which has thus far been found. In this brief article only a survey of the texts included in the manuscript will be given. In a later publication we shall bring a critical edition of the unpublished texts as well as dwell on the various issues which the manuscript raises.

⁵ H. Butzmann, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Gruppen Extravagantes, Novi et Novissimi. Katalog der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel* (Frankfurt, 1972), p. 401.

⁶ G.G. Meersseman, "La raccolta ...", p. 230.

⁷ G.G. Meersseman, "La raccolta ...", pp. 251-255.

⁸ M. Keuffer, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek zu Trier* (Trier, 1888), I, pp. 45-47; A catalogue of the manuscripts formerly in the library of the Saint Mathias monastery of Trier is currently being prepared by P. Becker, O.S.B. as part of the *Germania Sacra* volume of this monastery.

The manuscript contains twenty-four texts of various lengths, both with medieval and humanistic contents:

- 1) fol. 1^r: Table of Contents;
fols. 2^r-4^v blanco.
- 2) fols. 5^r-85^r: Brito, *Brevis expositio vocabulorum Bibliae*.
fols. 85^v-88^v: blanco.
- 3) fols. 89^r-108^r: Vulfardus de Corkene, *Grammatical Treatise*.
- 4) fols. 109^r-130^v: Johannes de Veris, *Grammatical Treatise*.
- 5) fols. 131^r-161^r: Anonymous (Johannes de Veris?), *De regiminibus et constructionibus*.
- 6) fols. 162^r-167^r: Ps. Bede, *De octo partibus orationis*. Three pages pulled out.
- 7) fols. 169^r-174^v: Anonymous (Johannes de Veris?), *De orthographia*.
- 8) fols. 175^r-200^r: Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, *De duobus amantibus*.
- 9) fols. 201^r-206^v: Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, *Somnium de fortuna*.
- 10) fols. 207^r-209^v: Salutatus (?), *Epistolae de Lucretia* and *Epitaphium* of Lucretia ascribed to Ovid.
- 11) fols. 210^r-218^v: Saint Basil the Great, *De studiis*.
- 12) fols. 219^r-222^v: Macrobius, *Somnium Scipionis*.
- 13) fols. 223^r-229^v: Guilhermus de Saliceto, *De salute corporis*.
- 14) fols. 229^v-233^r: Johannes de Turrecremata, *De salute anime*.
- 15) fols. 233^r-234^v: Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, *Tractatus de amore*.
- 16) fols. 235^r-236^r: Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, *Prefacio pro laude homeri*.
- 17) fols. 236^r-244^v: Abbreviated version of the *Ilias Latina*.
- 18) fols. 245^r-275^v: Horatius Flaccus, *Epistolae*. On fol. 245^r, a table of contents of the manuscript has been erased. Fols. 276-277 are blanco.
- 19) fols. 278^r-279^v: Anonymous, *De septem virtutibus et vitiis*.
- 20) fols. 281^r-281^v: Nicolaus de Polonia (?), an unedited text of this thirteenth century reactionary Polish doctor.
- 21) fols. 282^r-285^v: Anonymous, Account of a story of a robbed ferryman that happened at Dordrecht.
- 22) fols. 285^r-285^v: Anonymous, Poem of a monk to a youngster.
- 23) fols. 286^r-291^v: Lucian, *Dialogus de Charonte*.
- 24) fols. 293^r-297^v: Johannes Bondus de Aquileia, *Rhetorica*.

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INSTRUMENTUM CRITICUM

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1. Iacobus Sannazarius, *De partu Virginis*.

Carolus Fantazzi et Alexander Perosa admirabilem editionem criticam carminis *De partu Virginis* paraverunt (Florentiae in aedibus Leonis S. Olschki, 1988). At pessimus iste cacodaemon typographicus perfectionem in rebus humanis noluit inveniri itaque uno e versu unum vocabulum surripuit et hac malitia libri tertii versum 305 claudicantem reliquit. Confestim sanemus versum, vocabulo “auratis” restituto, et legamus

In medio, auratis effulgens fluctibus, amnis.

2. Dominicus Andreas, *Poecilistichon libri*.

Iosephus Maria Maestre Maestre primam editionem criticam, interpretationem hispanicam necnon uberes notas evulgavit: *Poesias Varias del Alcañizano Domingo Andrés*, Teruel 1987. Est opus variis de causis haud parvi momenti. Hoc loco quasdam versuum mutilorum lacunas supplere conabimur, molestiora etiam aliquot menda typographica tollemus (Quomodo tollenda sint interpretatio hispanica plerumque docet).

Lacunam supplendam propono in libro III, lxxxix 3 (p. 125):

Sed laudare parum est et aperta <voce> fateri;

et in III clxxv 57 (p. 226):

At si tu mores Hyacinthi et gesta <recenses>.

Duobus etiam e versibus vocabulum excidisse credendum est, id est e versu III xxxvi 7 (p. 88):

Qui te forte colunt, non te, <sed> nomen avorum,

et III xcvi 21 (p. 142):

Di, puer, interea <te>, fortunate, secudent.

Denique versum III xcvi 143 (p. 143) sic restaures ut intelligatur:

Sed rogo, ne cogar dicere, quaere nihil.

Emendationes minores hae sunt (menda inter uncas posui post lectionem restitutam):

II xvii 2 (p. 14): *profer* (profert); III xiii 1 (p. 69): *Iovius* (Iovios); xlvii 6 (p. 95): *animos* (animus); lxxxiii 1 (p. 120): *nullos* (nullus); cviii 1 (p. 156): *stupui* (stipui); cxii 9 (p. 161): *Quemque* (Quemquem); cxx 7 (p. 166): *Anthropolytrosin* (Anthopolytrosin); cxxxix 1 (p. 186): *horridus* (horribus); 28 (p. 188): *femineae* (feminae); cxlvi 18 (p. 195): *homini* (homine); clviii 2 (p. 208): *Innumerabilibus* (Innumeralibus); clvx 12 (p. 215): *populo* (populum); clxvii 1 (p. 217): *vinctus* (unictus); clxxix 30 (p. 240): *responsent* (responset); 206 (p. 253): *suscipiamus* (suspiciamus).

3. Petrus Carmelianus / Joannes de Giglis

Epigrammata quaedam edidit D. Carlson, "Politicizing Tudor Court Literature: Gaguin's Embassy and Henry VII's Humanists' Response", *Studies in Philology*, 85 (1988), 279-304. Versiculi duo emendandi sunt.

a) Carmen III 5 (Carmeliani): *Dat pacem verbis, dat rebus denta cruenta*. Legendum est: ... *dicta cruenta*.

b) Carmen VII 6 (De Giglis): ... *mater / Regis, Nestoreos vincite et una dies*. Legas oportet: ... *vincito* ...

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NEOLATINUM

apparaverunt

J. IJsewijn, G. Tournoy, D. Sacré, M. de Schepper

Appellatio ad auctores:

Auctores librorum et commentationum de rebus neolatinis enixe rogamus ut nuntium de novis opusculis nobis mittant (in Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae, Blijde-Inkomststraat 21, B-3000 Leuven, Belgium), quo citius in hoc instrumentum possint referri.

Haec bibliographia absoluta est Kalendis Augustis 1989.

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7. NOVUS LITTERARUM CRANEVELDIARUM FASCICULUS.

Die xxi mensis Iunii anno MCMLXXXIX Opus Fundatum Belgicum a Rege Balduino nuncupatum centum et septemdecim litteras Craneveldianas emit apud libellionem Londiniensem Christie's. Pleraeque litterae scriptae sunt annis MDXX-XXII ab ipso Craneveldio (9), necnon et Joanne Ludovico Vive (32), Thoma Moro (6), Joanne Clemente (1), Joanne Fevyno (26), Hadriano Barlando (1), Gerardo Geldenhouwer (6) et aliis. Adest etiam una Erasmi epistola (Allen 1173) brevior tamen textu et ipsius Erasmi manu exarata. Ceterae litterae omnes nondum cognitae sunt. Plura de iis ut primum possumus referemus. Interim vide Catalogum *Medieval and Illuminated Manuscripts ... Including an Important Humanist Archive ... Which will be sold at Christie's Great Rooms on Wednesday 21 June 1989*, pp. 82-90.

8. OPUS INCEPTUM

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- *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, vol. X 1, fasc. IV: *Pars — Pastor* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1988).
- *Lexicon Mediae Latinitatis Danicae*, fasc. 2: B — *contiguus* (Univ. Aarhus 1988).
- *Lexicon Latinitatis Medii Aevi Hungariae*, vol. I, fasc. 2: *Aeternaliter — Assignatio* (Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988). Hoc lexicon omnia vocabula comprehendit, quae in scriptis Latinis regni Hungariae ab anno 1000 ad 1526 reperiuntur. Additur interpretatio tum Latina (synonyma, explanatio ...) tum Hungarica. Sequitur textus excerptum, in quo vocabulum occurrit, una cum anno et fonte accurate descriptis. Exemplum sequitur Thesauri Linguae Latinae.
- *Lexicon Latinitatis Nederlandicae Medii Aevi*, vol. IV (F), fasc. 30: *Guvia — Impetuose* (Leiden, Brill, 1989).
- Ochoa Xav., *Index verborum ac locutionum Codicis iuris canonici*. Editio secunda et completa (Città del Vaticano, Libreria editrice Lateranense, 1984).
- Weijers Olga, *Terminologie des Universités au XIII^e s.*, Lessico Intellettuale Europeo, 39 (Roma, Edizioni dell' Ateneo, 1987). Cfr. et J. Paquet, *Revue Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 83 (1988), 432-436.
- Nebrissensis (De Nebrija) Aelius Antonius, *Diccionario Latin-Catalán y Catalán-Latin* (Barcelona, Carles Amorós, 1507). Estudio preliminar por G. Colon e.a., Biblioteca Hispánica Puvill, Sección Litteratura, 2 (Barcelona, Puvill, 1987).

NOVI INDICES

- *Opera Omnia D. Erasmi Roterodami*, vol. I-6, De Copia verborum (Amsterdam 1988), p. 292: *Index vocabulorum recentiorum*. Indiculus hic etiam augeri potest his verbis: *Acclamatoria clausula* (p. 252, 351), *Amussatim* (p. 156, 213), *Homerice* (p. 87, 455), *Inconsolabiliter* (p. 242, 107), *Obliviscentia* (p. 85, 362; 86, 396 et 431), *Praeconcipere* (p. 186, 931), *Vomiturire* (p. 174, 632).
- Vide supra p. 335: *Alciatus*; p. 364: *Vadstena*.

INDEX VERBORUM RECENTIORUM

Sequuntur verba, quae neque in Thesouro Linguae Latinae neque in Lexico Totius Latinitatis Forcelliniano reperiuntur. Ea autem, quae in lexicis et glossariis Mediae et recentioris Latinitatis leguntur, stellula (*) notavimus. Vide etiam pp. 197-199 elenchos vocabulorum apud Olaum Magnum repertorum.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>Adprimere, to reprint jointly with: p. 153,
154</p> <p>Antonia, Utrecht: p. 115</p> <p>Aptulus, suitable (dim.): p. 272</p>
<p>Caput Viride, Cabo Verde: p. 172</p> <p>*Carthusianus, Carthusian: p. 154</p> <p>Cohonestamentum, grace: p. 279</p> <p>*Comes, countess: p. 111, 153-156</p>
<p>Decastichon, a poem of ten verses: p. 100</p> <p>*Ducissa, duchess: p. 132</p> <p>Duernus, a quire of two leaves: p. 97</p> <p>*Dux, duke: p. 111</p> <p>*elegantulus, elegant (dim.): p. 281</p> <p>ex(s)poliare, to undress (cf. Ital.): p. 25</p> <p>*Facilitare, to make easy (?): p. 258</p> <p>*Fastuose, haughtily: p. 269</p> <p>Formipotens, powerful in beauty: p. 21</p>
<p>*Glabrities, smoothness: p. 261</p> <p>Gorilla: p. 168</p> <p>Grandisonans, high sounding: p. 265</p>
<p>Heroïna, noble lady: p. 156</p> <p>Hylas, a flower: p. 93</p>
<p>Impressor, printer: p. 97</p> <p>Impressorium mendum, printing error:
p. 154</p> | <p>*Ineptulus, unsuitable (dim.): p. 257</p>
<p>*Marchio, marchioness: p. 153</p> <p>Megasonder, from Grootzundert near
Breda: p. 152, 153, 154, 156</p>
<p>*Nasutulus, sagacious (dim.): p. 257</p> <p>Novimestris, of nine months: p. 118</p> <p>Nugivendulus, talking nonsense: p. 273</p>
<p>Obblandiri, to fondle in turn: p. 264</p> <p>Obtestabilis, amenable to entreaties: p. 49</p>
<p>Pamphilus, of Cyprus: p. 39, 49, 71, 91</p> <p>Platonizare: p. 277</p> <p>*Principissa, princess: p. 312</p>
<p>Romipara Venus, Venus, mother of Rome:
p. 21</p>
<p>Sarcastice ridere: p. 283</p> <p>*Scutatus, a coin: p. 203</p> <p>Semipatulus, half opened: p. 255</p> <p>Strenula, a modest present: p. 156</p> <p>Streperus, noisy: p. 259, 262</p> <p>Subventaneus: p. 277: cf. <i>HL</i> 37(1988), 275</p>
<p>Variegata ("varie variegata"): p. 276</p> |
|--|---|

P.S.

Anno superiore in indice verborum paginarum numerus excidit post voces 'crudivorus' et 'plebivorus'. Utramque invenies p. 287 sub nomine 'Theognis'.

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